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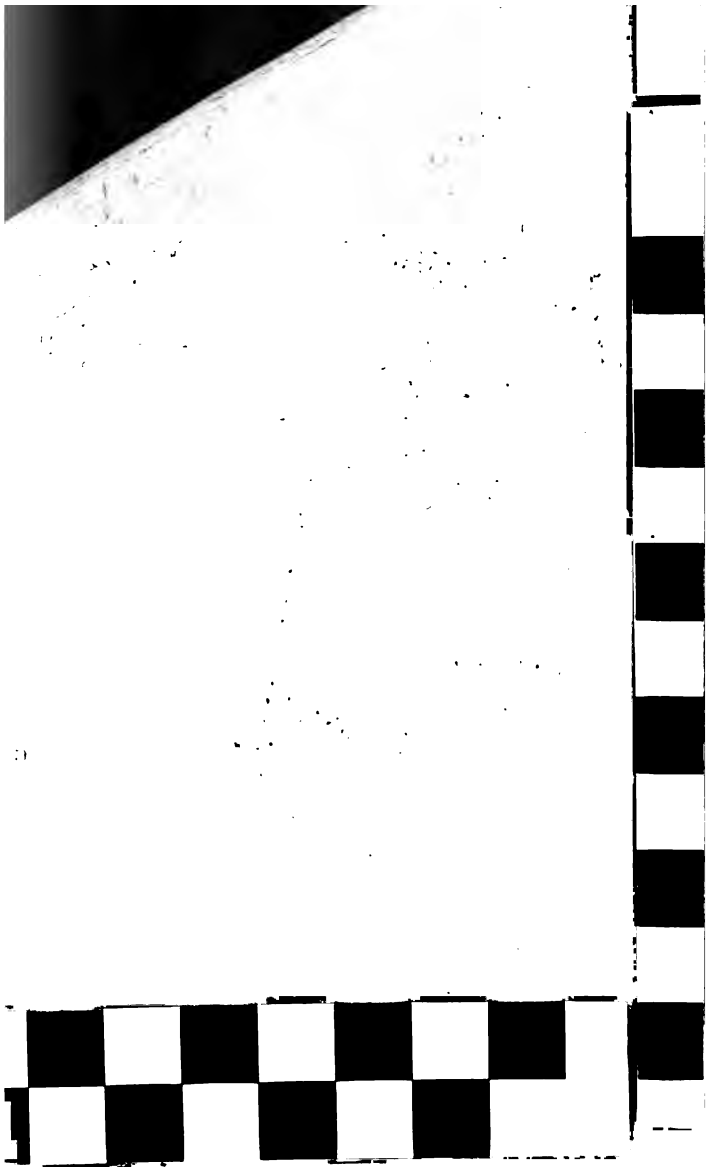
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Daniel Woolston

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

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PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS.

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ABRIDGED FROM THE WRITINGS OF JOHN GOUGH, 1721-91  
WILLIAM SEWELL, &c.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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*The Publishers think it necessary to inform the reader, that the following sheets contain the substance of John Gough's History, and some parts, not noticed by him, from William Sewell, in nearly their own words.*

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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### CHAP. I.

FROM THEIR RISE TO THE YEAR 1653.

**I**T is justly to be esteemed a signal favour, demanding the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of these nations, that Providence was pleased to rend the veil of superstition, disperse the cloud of papal darkness, and cause the morning of gospel light to dawn upon them; and those pious worthies, who, by the purity of their manners, doctrine, and faithfulness to death in testimony to the truth, were the principal instruments of bringing about the reformation, are justly entitled to honourable esteem, and doubtless enjoy their reward.

Though the reformation in some degree diminished both the power and property of the priesthood, yet it left them more than enough of both to answer the end of a perfect reform, or to redress all the grievances complained of under the former hierarchy. It left them titles of distinction unheard of in the primitive church, such as archbishops, deans, archdeacons. It left in possession of the superior orders not only the title of lords of the realm, but the power and honours appendant to that high rank, and allotments of lands sufficient to support the

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state and dignity of that station; which, however consistent with human policy, appear to be irreconcilable to the precepts of Christ and his apostles. See Matt. xx. 25, 26. Titus, i. 7, 8. 1 Peter, v. 2, 3.

The vesting in the bishops such a portion of honour, power, and property, had no tendency to advance reformation; bearing too near a resemblance to those badges of distinction borne by those of the church of Rome, it was thought by many a resuming of the spirit and principles of the former hierarchy, and defeating the ends of separating from that church.

For though many respectable characters have adorned the bench of bishops at and since the reformation, yet it is manifest that the honours and emoluments of the office have proved a tempting bait to too many, whereby they have been drawn into negligence of their pastoral charge, to frequent courts, hunt after preferment, and pay more attention to their secular, than their spiritual calling.

The power, also, left in their hands, proved a temptation to revive the spirit of persecution amongst them; soon forgetting the hardships their predecessors had undergone, during the intolerance of the last reign, from the Romish bishops; the Protestant bishops were hardly firmly seated in their stalls, before they exerted their endeavours to force an uniformity, which comprehended a universal assent to the propriety of their prerogatives, and a submission to their power and decrees in matters ecclesiastical, by imprisonments, confiscations, banishment, and (in some instances) of death. In their legislative capacity they were too generally zealous promoters of penal laws against non-conformists, and in their official and executive capacity strenuous aiders and abettors in carrying them rigorously into execution.

The reservation of tithes for the maintenance of the priests is another of the reliques of the apostatized

tized church; and the grounds on which they were claimed, the return of Gospel light clearly manifested to be merely nugatory, and that they could not be retained in any reformation reverting to primitive purity, as no vestige of such a demand could be derived from the new testament, or the original practice of the Christian church.

Sundry other articles of the former superstition were reformed but partially: ostentatious splendor and human contrivance in worship, and in the decoration of temples; the clerical vestments, pluralities, and non-residence of the clergy, appear plain instances of a deviation from the simplicity, disinterestedness, and conscientious concern for the propagation of pure religion, conspicuous in the primitive age of Christianity; and the latter, of a spirit of avarice approaching to injustice.

William Penn\*, who lived near those times, says, "The last age did set some steps towards reformation, both as to *doctrine, worship, and practice*; but *practice* quickly failed, for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the *professors* of the reformation as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to *earthly policy and power*, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with *spiritual weapons*; which I have often thought has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress as to the *life and soul of religion*. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually-minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own

\* Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers.

way, there were daily added to the church such as one might reasonably say, should be saved ; for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution as to be faithful and inoffensive under it ; being more concerned to spread the truth, by their faith and patience in *tribulation*, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them. And it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall by the very same way they took to stand.

“ In *doctrine* they were in some things short ; in other things, to avoid one extreme they ran into another ; and for *worship*, there was for the generality, more of *man* in it than of *GOD*. They owned the *spirit*, *inspiration*, and *revelation* indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the scriptures of truth. And this was their plea ; the *scripture* is the *text*, the *spirit* the *interpreter*, and *that* to every one *for himself*. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching ; and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers, especially in this kingdom, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and some parts of *Germany*. *GOD* was therefore pleased in *England* to shift us from vessel to vessel, and the next remove *humbled* the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the *LORD'S DAY*, and catechising of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public. But even as these grew into power, they were not only for *whipping* some out, but others into, the temple ; and they appeared *rigid in their spirits* rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people that were yet more retired and select.

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“ They would not *communicate* at large or in common with others, but formed churches among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion, at least of very promising experiences of the work of-GOD’s grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishments, by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

“ They also allowed *greater liberty* to prophecy than those before them, for they admitted any member to speak or pray as well as their pastor, whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate. If such found any thing pressing upon them *to either duty*, even without the *distinction of clergy or laity*, persons of any trade had the liberty, be it ever so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss, for tasting of *worldly empire*, and the *favour of princes*, and the *gain* that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles; and, which was yet worse, turned, some of them, *absolute persecutors of other men for GOD’s sake*, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace, which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water: *Another baptism*, as believing they were not *scripturally baptized*, and hoping to find that presence and power of GOD in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

“ These people also made profession of *neglect-*



ing, if not *renouncing* and *condemning*, not only the necessity, but *use* of all *human learning*, as to the *ministry*, and all other qualifications to it, besides the *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit of GOD*, and those natural and common to men. And for a time they seemed, like *John* of old, *a burning and a shining light to other Societies*.

“ They were very diligent, plain, and serious, strong in scripture and bold in profession, bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by proved their snare, for worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more. And they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy Ghost*, which was *his baptism*, who came with a *fan* in his hand, that he might thoroughly, and not in part only, *purge his floor*, and take away the *dross* and the *tin* of his people, and make a man *finer than gold*. Withal they grew high, rough, and self-righteous, opposing farther attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty, insomuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as *sheep* without a *shepherd*.

“ These people were called *Seekers* by some, and the *Family of Love* by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do, but waited together in *silence*, and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought favoured of a *divine spring*, they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in *humility* and in the fear of *GOD*, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted *above measure*; and for want of stay-  
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ing their minds in an humble dependance upon him that opened their understandings to see *great things* in his *law*, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth to the scandal of those that feared God.

“ From their extravagant discourses and practices, they obtained the name of *Ranters*; for they interpreted CHRIST’S fulfilling of the law for us to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required of us, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit, the slavish fear of the law being taken off by CHRIST; and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so, insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof, that they could, *without evil*, commit the same act which was sin in another to do.”

Their extravagancies and immoralities shocking the sincere seekers of pure religion amongst them, they relinquished a community fallen into manifest disorder, to search after it elsewhere; and many of other societies also, feeling a desire after a greater degree of purity and peace of mind than they had yet met with, were at a loss to know where to find it, or whom to apply to for direction.

About this time Providence saw meet to raise up an instrument to gather a people from those who were dissatisfied with these different professions, and were looking for the revelation of the Gospel in greater purity, as well as many who were not. A man unacquainted with the doctrine of the schools, and unattached to any system, but endued with a power which schools cannot convey, speaking the language of experience, and of a heart versed in the work of sanctification. The tenor of his doctrine,

when he found himself concerned to instruct others, was to wean men from systems, ceremonies, and the outside of religion in every form, and to lead them to an acquaintance with themselves, by a most solicitous attention to what passed in their own minds; to direct them to a principle in their own hearts, which if duly attended to, would introduce rectitude of mind, simplicity of manners, a life and conversation adorned with every christian virtue, and peace, the effect of righteousness, which they were looking for. Drawing his doctrine from the pure source of religious truth, the New Testament, and the convictions of his own mind, abstracted from the comments of men, he asserted the freedom of man, in the liberty of the Gospel, against the tyranny of custom, the combined powers of persecution, contempt, and ridicule. Unshaken and undismayed, he persevered in disseminating principles and practices conducive to the present and everlasting well-being of mankind with honesty, simplicity, and success. It seems proper, therefore, with an account of this extraordinary character, who was the first preacher of the principles of the society, afterwards distinguished by the contemptuous appellation of Quakers, and the first person who received that name, to open the history of this people.

GEORGE FOX was born at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire, in 1624, of parents not considerable for their rank, but respectable for piety and integrity; who gave him a sober, though not a learned, education, in the way and worship of the national church. His mother observing the bent of his disposition to seriousness, treated him with particular tenderness, being careful not to discourage his virtuous inclinations, feeling much satisfaction in these early indications of a religious turn of mind.

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The gravity of his demeanour suggested to some of his relations a desire that he might be educated for the priesthood; but whether the circumstances or inclinations of his parents prevented, he was put apprentice to a shoe-maker, by whom he was chiefly employed in keeping sheep: an employment well suited to the temper of his mind, both for its innocence and solitude.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship he returned home. Observing in the greater number of those who were high in profession of religion, a latitude in their conduct, an indulgence in sensual gratifications, or an attachment to temporal pursuits, to a degree irreconcilable with the Christian religion, it occasioned him so great an anxiety of heart, that he could not, sometimes, take his natural rest; but spent his nights in watchings and prayer. Under his solicitude, he received this internal admonition, "Thou seest how the young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger unto all."

This, which he understood to be a divine command, determined him to leave his relations and acquaintance; to detach himself, as much as possible from company, for fear of being drawn into unwatchfulness. Yet in his moving about (for he tarried not long in any place) he sought out the most religious people to converse with, as he felt freedom, and sojourned amongst them. In these his travels, he was under great anguish of mind, whereby he was brought to a narrow scrutiny into his past life; and blameless as it seems to have been, his anxiety increased nigh to despondency (at times.) In this state a doubt arising in his mind of the rectitude of his conduct in leaving his relations, he returned home; yet here feeling little mitigation of his sorrows, he had recourse to several priests, who

were in repute for religious experience, to consult them, for counsel and advice; but found no real benefit, they not being able to reach his state, or administer the relief he wanted.

Finding them physicians of no value, he was discouraged from a dependence upon them. And shortly after, he declined the attendance of the public worship, to hear sermons unavailable to the state of his soul, and to join in prayers and singing not expressive of its feelings; esteeming it not worship, but offensive to the divine being. He therefore turned his views toward the Dissenters, as apprehending more tenderness and religious experience among them: yet he found not that satisfaction which he desired: wherefore withdrawing from communion with all outward societies, he retired into solitary places, frequently with his Bible, and employed himself in reading and meditation there.

For the space of three or four years he lived in privacy and solitude; during which time, through a variety of probations, he grew in religious experience. By a strict attention, and ready obedience to the teacher nigh at hand, the word in the heart, and in the mouth, to be heard and obeyed, he was endued with intellectual discernment, to distinguish between the essential and external part of religion, between the spirit and the letter; and felt it his duty publicly to recommend to mankind an attention to the same internal monitor.

In 1647, he conceived it his duty to leave his outward habitation a second time, and travel abroad, to seek out the most serious people to associate with. Passing through part of his native county and Derbyshire, he came into Nottinghamshire; and wherever he met with honest-hearted people, would enter into conferences with them, as freedom and opportunity invited for mutual improvement; but he chiefly recommended silence, and abstinence

nence from self-performances, in order to turn the attention of men more steadfastly to the light of Christ within them; and to wait in patience to feel the power of this divine principle animate them to a heavenly temper, always exemplifying the doctrine he taught in his own practice.

From the reformation to this time, a spirit of religious enquiry had been kept alive, even by the severities practised to quash it: the civil wars, having stripped numbers of much of their outward substance, and leaving the remaining part at the disposal of superior force, had an effect to wean men's affections insensibly from possessions of so precarious a tenure: and all, who could think seriously, were naturally led to look for something more stable.

It was certainly an æra when religious profession and regularity of manners were in general estimation; and amidst this general profession, we must presume many were truly conscientious in their dissent from established forms, and in their enquiry after a better way. But in these times of turbulence, when the reins of civil and ecclesiastical authority were shifting from hand to hand, sects and opinions multiplying, perplexed many of the sincere enquirers in their search of truth: being uncertain what guide to follow, or what society to associate with; and therefore others, beside G. Fox, deserted these uncertain teachers, and in retirement consulted the Scriptures, and the oracle in their own breasts, for instruction in the way of duty; or met in select companies for mutual edification. Amongst such, G. Fox found an open reception for his doctrine.

His ministerial labours were at first exercised in the way of conference with such well-disposed people as he met with, passing along from place to place. He durst not stay long in any particular place, for fear of contracting acquaintance which

might not be profitable, whereby his mind might be retarded as to advancement in religious experience. But as he went northward as far as Duckenfield and Manchester, meeting with some religious enquirers, he made some stay, and had meetings amongst them; whereby there were some convinced of the truth of his doctrine.

This is the first instance we have of his public ministry, which, consisted in a few weighty expressions, attended with a reaching power, greatly affecting the hearts of his auditory.

At no great distance from this time, another opportunity occurred for his public ministry: The Baptists had appointed a meeting at Broughton in Leicestershire, with some persons who had separated from them. The report thereof drew abundance of people together, even from other counties, and G. Fox among others; but from whatever cause it happened, but few of the Baptists attended. George made use of the opportunity to inculcate the doctrines he had received as truth upon the minds of the assembly. Several by his preaching, and others by his reasoning with them, were convinced of the truth he published.

Near the close of this year (O. S.) the Independents and Republicans accomplished their purpose in bringing the king to the block, and seating themselves at the helm of government. Their professed principles being in favour of civil and religious liberty, the public places of worship seem, for a season, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to disputation between the teachers or members of various sects: this furnished G. Fox and others with opportunities of divulging their opinions, and accordingly we find him frequently availing himself thereof.

Private

Private houses also were occasionally open to religious conference, and as the principal bent of his mind was, to do good to others, or reap spiritual advantage to himself, he was zealous to attend meetings of this kind, in his native county of Leicestershire and places adjacent. Once at a meeting of sundry priests and professors at a justice's house, and twice at Mansfield, in which he modestly offered his sentiments on the subject of disquisition, which were generally well received. At the first meeting at Mansfield, he was moved to pray. The effect of his prayer on the audience, encouraged another professor present to pray also; but his prayer, instead of edifying, brought deadness over the assembly, which displeasing them, he desired George to pray again, but he could not pray in man's will.

Soon after this, hearing of a meeting appointed at Leicester, wherein it was reported, that Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians were engaged, he went thither, the meeting being held in the public worship-house, opened a general admission; and liberty being granted for any to speak, after some time, a woman present put this question; *What birth was that which the Apostle speaks of, A being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever?* The priest replied, I suffer not a woman to speak in the church; which drew from George an enquiry what he understood the church to be: for reply, the priest returning the question, George expressed his idea thereof, "That it was neither a building of lime and stones, nor a mixed multitude assembled together; but the pillar and ground of truth, a spiritual building composed of living stones, a spiritual household, of which Christ was the head." This, he writes, set them all on fire, and the dispute was marred.

When the meeting was broken up, he retired to his



his inn, whither he was followed by several priests and professors, with whom he disputed the subject afresh, and maintained his opinion of the true church, and the true head thereof. Several were convinced, and amongst them the woman who put the question, and her family.

Travelling about in the central parts of the nation, and now staying more or less in a place as he found his mind engaged, his preaching was attended with considerable success: the convincing authority attending his ministry, daily increasing the number of profelytes: so that meetings begun to be settled in those parts in the course of this year, 1648.

His endeavours to propagate true religion were not confined to public or private meetings; but exerted in other places, as occasion offered; particularly in courts of judicature, to admonish to justice, and caution against oppression: in markets, to recommend fair dealing, and to bear his testimony against fraud, and deceitful merchandise: at public houses of entertainment, to warn against promoting intemperance, by supplying their guests with more liquor than would do them good: at schools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and servants in the fear of their Maker; to testify against vain sports, plays and shows, as tending to draw people into vanity, and from that state of attentive consideration, wherein our salvation is to be wrought out.

It is not improbable but this uncommon manner of intervention in places unusual might expose him to the derision of some; and resentment of others; but he met not as yet with any instance of ill usage in his person. Upon his appearing abroad in his more public capacity, the clear impression fixed in his mind of the purity of the Christian religion, and the too general defection of the greater part of professors

professors therefrom, produced in him cautiousness to take no man for his copy; but singly pursuing what the light in his own conscience discovered to be right, he was led into a manner of conduct in many respects singular, but, properly considered, not absurd; though contradictory to fashion, yet not contrary to reason and propriety. Viewing the customary modes of salutation, in uncovering the head and bowing the body, as owing their origin to pride on one hand, and folly or artifice on the other, introducing marks of homage to men, which they had no just claim to, and which neither reason nor religion ratified, he esteemed it his duty to bear a public testimony against these customs, by declining compliance therewith. Being, by the light of the Gospel, instructed that his words should be few; conformable to sincerity; void of flattery and deceit, he felt himself circumscribed from adopting the prevailing deviation from the original simplicity of language in using *YOU* to a single person, or giving customary compliments, or flattering titles; and accordingly, addressed individuals of every rank with the singular appellation of *thou* or *thee*, without respect of persons. This manner of address begat general disgust, and exposed him and his fellow-believers to much abuse, being often beaten, stoned, imprisoned, and fined, for no other reason but declining to take off their hats, and to give the customary titles of adulation to men.

Their unfashionable demeanour was not the sole cause of their severe treatment; their doctrine, circumspect conversation, plain-dealing, and honest testimonies against religion without righteousness, carrying in them strong reproof to hypocrisy and lifeless profession, were little less offensive to many formal professors of the age.

But

But that which created them the greatest number of enemies, was their opinion concerning Gospel ministry. They taught that the Gospel was free; that the minister ought either to minister, because it was his indispensable duty, or omit taking the charge upon him; that no person ought to teach for hire, but that of the ability which God gave, they ought to give freely to the people. A doctrine, which, touching the teachers of every other denomination in a tender part, their interest raised a host of foes. The priests of every class, however at variance among themselves, generally united in exertions against these hated reformers; to impress upon the magistrates and people the most unfavourable opinion of the doctrine and conduct of those men, who, in the face of the world, had broached opinions in their view so pernicious. Biased by prejudice, and blinded by passion, their representations of this people transgressed the bounds of candour and truth; the pulpits were converted into vehicles of calumny; every ridiculous story was circulated to their disadvantage; and pains taken to represent them, not what they were, but what their adversaries would have them thought to be. The press, seconding the efforts of the pulpit, spread undeserved reproach. Men of leisure and abilities, without giving themselves time to consider this people and their doctrines attentively, joined in the common cause against them. This confederacy could vilify their reputation; abuse their persons; plunder, imprison and persecute them: but could neither overset their confidence in divine support, nor prevent the increase of their numbers, till they became a considerable body, not more remarkable for the singularities of their profession, than for the uniform practice of virtue, and the severity of their sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience

Science through three successive revolutions of government.

G. Fox's first imprisonment was in the course of the year 1648 at Nottingham : coming thither on a first day of the week, under a persuasion of duty, he went to the public worship, and the priest taking for his text these words of the apostle Peter, " We have a more sure word of prophecy, &c." which he expounded to be the scriptures, by which all doctrines were to be tried. G. Fox signified that this *sure word* of prophecy was not the scriptures, but the Holy Spirit, by which holy men gave forth the Scriptures, whereby (as the surest interpreter of them) opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried : for it led men into all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, persecuted him and his apostles, while they pretended to try their doctrine by the Scriptures ; but erred in judgment, because they tried them without the Holy Ghost. Hereupon the officers seized him, and took him to prison, putting him into a place so filthy, that the smell thereof was grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, and after examination, recommitted. One of the magistrates, John Reckless, sheriff, being, with his wife and family, much affected with George's doctrine, after some time removed him to his own house : during his residence here, he had meetings, which some persons of condition attended, and the Lord's power appeared eminently among them, whereby a great change was effected in the sheriff, insomuch that he and several others being excited by a sense of duty to exhort both the people and magistrates to repentance, the latter were so provoked, that they caused G. Fox to be removed back to the common prison, where he lay till the assizes ; yet was not then brought to his trial, for though he  
was

was ordered to be taken before the judge, the officer was so dilatory, that the court was broken up before he got thither; yet they ordered him into the common jail, and detained him there some time longer.

In most places whither he came, bonds or afflictions abode him. At Mansfield Woodhouse, speaking to the priest and congregation in their public place of worship, the people assaulted him, and beat him cruelly with their hands, Bibles, and sticks. After they had thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours; and then they took him before a magistrate, who seeing how grossly he had been abused, after much threatening, set him at liberty. But still the multitude, insatiate in abuse, stoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, by reason of their ill usage, for no other cause but exhorting them for their good. With difficulty he reached the distance of about a mile from the town, where he met with some people humane enough to administer cordials for his ease, being inwardly bruised. At Market Bosworth he was also stoned out of the town: and at Chesterfield detained in custody till late at night, and then put out of the town by officers and watchmen, and left in the dark to provide for himself as well as he could. In the midst of his sufferings he had the consolation of apprehending himself in the way of his duty, and of finding that in each place some were convinced, and others confirmed in the truth by his ministry.

At the first appearance of this people, several others, as well as G. Fox, thought it their duty to go to the public places of worship, to declare the burden of the word on their minds; mostly (though not always) waiting till their worship was ended, and then delivering, or attempting to deliver, their sentiments in quietness, and in as few words as possible, for which they were often treated with violence; and

and to palliate such treatment, irreconcilable to the professed purity of this period, or to the good order of civil society, great pains have been taken to describe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may seem to deserve censure. This people were not single, at that time, in their sentiments concerning the Gospel-liberty of prophesying: but the Independents also, as well as the Baptists, adopted the opinion, that the ordained ministers had not, by any order observed amongst the primitive Christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church, but that all, properly gifted, might speak one by one. It had been during the time of the civil war, and still continued to be no unusual practice for laymen, soldiers, and others to speak or preach in the public places of worship and elsewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers.

By this it appears evident, that a participation of the laity in ministerial offices was not only allowed, but patronized, by some of the leading men of that time.

From Chesterfield G. Fox directed his course to Derby, where he was entertained at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced. As he was walking in his chamber, he heard the bell ring: upon enquiring into the cause, he was informed that there was to be a lecture there that day, at which many officers of the army and preachers were to be present. George went to this lecture, and after it was finished, spoke what was on his mind, and they heard him without molestation; but when he had done, an officer came to him, and taking him by the hand, told him he must go before the magistrates. Being brought before them about the first hour afternoon, they spent the day till the ninth, in examination and consultation about him, and then committed him and another to the house of correction.

G. Fox

G. Fox was now prevented from travelling, but his mind did not suffer him to rest unemployed; for, during his confinement, he was much exercised in writing, particularly to the priests and magistrates of Derby. To the former, that if they had received the Gospel freely, they should minister it freely, without money or without price. That if they maintained the Scripture to be their rule, they ought to manifest that it was so, not by words only, but by the conformity of their lives to its doctrines. To the magistrates, repeatedly pointing out the injustice of persecution and oppression.

Neither was he unmindful of his principal concern, the instruction and confirmation of those who had been convinced by his ministry. He wrote a paper to be spread abroad amongst his friends and other well-disposed people.

It was during his imprisonment here, 1650, that, bidding Gervas Bennet (one of the justices who committed him) and those in company with him, *tremble at the word of the Lord*; Bennet, turning this expression into a subject of ridicule, in derision gave G. Fox and his friends the appellation of Quakers, by which name this people have ever since been distinguished.

His relations, uneasy at his imprisonment, applied to the justices for his release upon bail; whereupon he was brought before them, but refused his consent, because he thought the conditions (which were, that he should be of good behaviour, and come no more thither to cry against the priests) in one part, a groundless impeachment of his character; and in the other, a restraint from duty. Justice Bennet rose up in a rage, and as George was kneeling down to pray for him, fell furiously upon him, and struck him with both his hands, commanding the jailer to take him to prison; he was accordingly carried back, and there detained.

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The keeper, a high professor, was in the number of George's enemies; he watchfully remarked his words and actions, asked many frivolous, insidious questions, in order to draw some unguarded answer, to turn to the disadvantage of his character; but George was preserved in that circumspection of conduct, that the jailer could get no advantage against him this way: and yet it seems he spoke very wickedly of him. For which treatment he was one day so smitten in his conscience, that as G. Fox was walking in his chamber, he heard a mournful voice, upon which he stood to listen, and heard the jailer give the following relation to his wife: "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers, professors and justices, and in taverns and alehouses." And afterwards coming to G. Fox, he made the following acknowledgment: "I have been a lion against you, but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to *Paul* and *Silas* trembling." The next day he went to the justices and complained to them that he and his house had been plagued for George's sake. To which (as the jailer reported) Gervas Bennet replied, that plagues were upon them for keeping him there: and soon after the justices gave him leave to walk a mile, in expectation that he would make use of the opportunity to escape. But they were mistaken; this man, as patient in suffering for his principles, as he was zealous in propagating them, was too tender of the reputation of the truth he maintained, to give advantage against it to its adversaries, by obtaining his liberty in a clandestine manner: he therefore signified, if they would ascertain the extent of a mile, he might sometimes make use of the liberty. His fellow prisoner, Fretwell, soon found means to ingratiate



ingratiate himself with the jailer, and obtained leave to go see his mother, and so got his liberty: which occasioned the jailer to remark, "that man was not right, but that George was an honest man." The jailer's sister also being sickly, visiting George in his chamber, was so affected with his discourse, as to bear testimony concerning him and his friends: "that they were an innocent people, that did harm to none, but did good to all, even to those who hated them."

When the civil war in England was terminated by the death of the late king, and the independent parliament was fixed in the seat of government there; Ireland remained to be subdued, and the ruling party in Scotland had come to a resolution, to acknowledge Charles II. as their king. The parliament therefore thought it necessary to augment their forces, when G. Fox's term of commitment to the house of correction was nearly expired; the commissioners invited him to accept the office of a captain, and the soldiers were desirous to have him for their commander; for which purpose, being brought before the commissioners, in the market-place, they there made him the offer, asking him if he would not take up arms for the commonwealth, against Charles Stuart. He told them, he knew from whence all wars did arise, even from the lusts; and that he lived in the virtue of that power that took away the occasion of war. Pressing him more earnestly to accept of their offer, which they said was made out of regard to his virtue, and he still rejecting their proposal, their pretended regard quickly gave way to the impetuosity of their resentment at his refusal, and his testimony against their warring spirit under their religious pretensions. They immediately commanded the jailer to put him into the common jail, without any bed! He was accordingly thrust amongst thirty felons, whose conduct

duſt and converſation, were no leſs grievous to him than the filthineſs of the priſon where he was kept nearly ſix months. However, not diſcouraged by the proſpect of the danger he might be expoſed to, he felt himſelf frequently conſtrained to reprove them. Yet it doth not appear that he received any ill uſage from them, and people wondered he was ſo preſerved from harm amongſt ſuch company.

During his confinement, he had occaſion to remark the pernicious effects of keeping priſoners long in jail. He therefore thought it his duty to communicate his obſervations hereon to the judges.

Though few, if any, could be more circumſpect to avoid evil in their own particulars, or more averſe to it in others, yet he was affected for thoſe unhappy wretches who forfeited their liberty and lives to the laws of their country. The compaſſion he felt on that account, particularly for a young woman in priſon, for robbing her maſter, induced him to write to the magiſtrates. Whatever effect his interpoſition might have, the young woman was reprieved at the gallows, and afterwards in priſon repented and believed.

After the battle of Dunbar, King Charles, in expectation of being joined by all his friends, and the malecontents under the preſent government, advanced into the heart of England.

This ſudden invaſion created great alarm, and excited the adherents to the preſent government to zealous exertions in procuring recruits, to repel the invaders; upon this occaſion, Juſtice Bennet ſent a conſtable to preſs G. Fox for a ſoldier; who brought him before the commiſſioners; but he perſiſting in his reſuſal, they committed him to cloſe imprifonment, without bail or mainprize; whereupon he again appealed to their feelings, in a letter addreſſed to Col. Barton, and the reſt who were concerned in his commitment.

It is not improbable that this letter, together with the innocency of his conduct, made an impression upon them; for, notwithstanding their former representation of him as a deceiver and blasphemer, his integrity had so far gotten the better of their prejudice, that they set him at liberty in the beginning of the winter 1651, after detaining him in prison near twelve months, six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common prison.

G. Fox having regained his liberty, pursued his travels, and had meetings in several places in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and thence passed into Yorkshire. Richard Farnsworth, among others, was convinced at Balby: at Wakefield, James Naylor, and William Dewsbury and his wife, with many others, were also convinced. These three men became powerful coadjutors to G. Fox. Of these, W. Dewsbury had been immediately convinced of the internal principle of light and grace before he saw George; but when he met him, he found they were in the unity of the same spirit, and thereupon gave him the right hand of fellowship, and joined him in his ministerial labours.

Passing on to Beverly, he went to the public worship-house; and after the preacher had done, he exhorted him and the people, directing them to Christ their teacher with such an authority as brought an awfulness over the assembly, and his ministry in these parts was effectual to the conviction of many, and amongst them some persons of account: Capt. Pursloe and Justice Hotham were in the number of his friends, and tho' it doth not appear that they openly joined him in profession, yet their favour was conducive to protect him from insult and abuse, to which in some other places he had been exposed.

In the afternoon he went to another worship-house about two miles from Beverly, where, after the preacher had done, he spoke largely. The people were so much affected, that they requested him to favour them with another opportunity of hearing him; but he directed them to a better instructor that would abide with them, the spirit of Christ in their own hearts, and so passed away.

Continuing in the prosecution of his travels, he met with various success. Passing northward through most parts of Yorkshire, he met with little or no restraint from the magistrates; but received much abuse from the multitude in many places. He also repeatedly experienced the want of hospitality in these parts, being refused entertainment or lodging at the inns, though he offered to pay; whereby he was obliged several times to take up his lodging in the open air, or under such shelter as he could meet with in the fields; under these sufferings he manifested the meek and forgiving temper of a Christian; as at Titchill, where the clerk struck him so violently with a Bible in the public worship-house, as to make his face run down with blood; where, after this the people thrust him out, threw him down, and dragged him along the streets. When he got up, covered with blood and dirt, he endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their doings, by representing to them how inconsistent their conduct was, and how they dishonoured Christianity thereby. Some moderate justices, who had heard how he had been abused, coming to examine into this riot, he would not appear as an accuser against any; but freely forgave them all. This, doubtless, contributed to give success to his plain but prevailing ministry.

Coming to Sedbergh on a fair day, and preaching first in the fair, and afterwards retiring into the grave-yard, abundance of people flocked after him,  
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when he preached for a considerable time. Several priests were present, yet none of them made the least opposition to his doctrine; but Francis Howgill, an Independent preacher, was so affected therewith, as well as the powerful manner of delivering it, as to acknowledge, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes." Many were convinced that day, and amongst them Capt. Ward.

On the first day following, he went to Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, where F. Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. About noon, after refreshing himself with a little water from a brook, he sat down on the top of a rock contiguous to the chapel, in order to hold a meeting there; the people seemed surprised that he did not go into the chapel; but he, esteeming it part of his mission to bring them off from their SUPERSTITIOUS veneration for these places, informed them that there was no inherent sanctity in the ground or building beyond that on which he stood. To a large audience he preached for a considerable time, and his ministry was attended with a convincing power, whereby many, and in particular the teachers of that congregation, became profelytes to his doctrine; viz. J. Audland and F. Howgill, who gave back the money they had received from the parish of Colton in Lancashire, for preaching there.

George went from thence to Preston-Patrick and Kendal, at which places he had meetings to good effect; where large meetings are held to this day. From Kendal he proceeded to Under-barrow, accompanied by several persons, with whom he had much reasoning, especially with Edward Burrough, who became an eminent member of this community; and during his short life, a principal promoter of its cause, both in his discourse and writings.

G. Fox

G. Fox next passed over to Lancashire by Cartmel and Ulverstone to Swarthmore, the seat of Thomas Fell, a Welch judge, who was upon his circuit when G. Fox came to his house, being a house open for the reception of religious people. Next day there being a lecture at Ulverston, G. Fox went to it; when he came in, they were singing, and after they had finished this part of their service, he desired liberty to speak, which was granted. He there so plainly distinguished the essential from the professional part of religion, that Judge Fell's wife, Margaret, was effectually reached, so that she sat down in her pew and wept bitterly, crying in her spirit, "We are all thieves! we are all thieves! We have taken the scripture in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves." George proceeding in his discourse, and declaring against the false prophets, who take upon them to explain other men's words, while they were out of the spirit of those whose expressions they pretended to explain, John Sawrey, a justice of the peace, ordered him to be taken away; and after some time a constable executing the order, he continued his exhortation to the people in the grave-yard. In the evening he returned to Judge Fell's, and had an opportunity to preach in the family to that effect, that most of them were convinced.

Their conversion made a great noise in the country, and raised George many enemies, several of whom met the judge on his return home, and prepossessed him with the intelligence, "That a great disaster had befallen his family; that the Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; and that he must send them away, or all the country would be undone." - Under the affecting impression of this report, he reached his house; nor was the anxiety of his wife short of his; for, being clearly convinced of the truth of the doctrines del-

livered by G. Fox, she thought it her duty to adhere thereto; and yet her affectionate regard for her husband filling her with reluctance at the thoughts of giving him uneasiness, she felt herself in a distressing strait, between the apprehension of displeasing her husband or offending her Maker; but J. Naylor and R. Farnsworth being then in the house, at her desire had a conference with him, in which they conducted themselves with so much prudence as greatly conduced to mitigate his displeasure; and in the evening G. Fox returned, and finding that Judge Fell was prejudiced against him, by the misrepresentation of the priests and professors, and in particular by those of Justice Sawrey, he entered into a free discussion of his principles; answered all the judge's objections so clearly from Scripture, that he was thoroughly satisfied.

The morning after this conference, Lampit, priest of Ulverstone, paid a visit to the judge, and had much conversation with him, no ways in favour of his new guests; but the judge was too clearly convinced by the evening conference with G. Fox, easily to receive impressions to their prejudice. Instead of listening to the insinuations of the priest, he soon gave proof of his favourable disposition to the Quakers, by an offer of his house for a meeting place, in consequence whereof there was a large meeting the first day following, and thenceforward a settled meeting continued in that house till 1690, when a meeting-house was built.

This impression on judge Fell's mind in their favour was very mortifying to those who wished the suppression of this rising society: Justice Sawrey and ——— Lampit, priest of Ulverstone, were particularly chagrined, and let no opportunity slip of gratifying their resentment. Soon after, there being a lecture day at Ulverstone, and Judge Fell being from home, G. Fox went to the worship-house

on that occasion, and attempted to speak there. Sawrey told him if he would speak according to scripture he might; George replied, he should speak according to scripture, and prove his doctrine thereby. Then Sawrey insisted, in contradiction to his own proposal, that he should not speak at all; notwithstanding which, he proceeded to use the liberty given him, and the people heard him with satisfaction, till Sawrey, incensed them against him, and incited them to abuse him. By the infligation of this man, the place and time of worship were converted into a scene of riot, for there G. Fox was knocked down and trampled upon in his presence. At last Sawrey took him from the people, and delivered him to the constables, with orders to whip him and put him out of the town, which orders having executed in a violent manner, they delivered him over to the multitude, who beat him to that degree, that he fell down senseless. After lying a while, he recovered, and the return he made them was an endeavour to bring them to a sense of the inconsistency of their conduct, informing them, that this carriage manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry. Returning to Swathmore, he found his friends there humanely employed in dressing the wounds of those who had been cut and bruised by Lampit's hearers. For though the chief force of their violence had fallen on G. Fox, several others, not only of those who openly joined in profession with him, but of such also as discovered a partiality towards them who did, felt the effects of the license given to a mob, divested of the restraints of law, religion, and humanity.

G. Fox in about two weeks after the abuse he met with at Ulverstone, passing over to the island of Walney in company with J. Naylor, there met with equal or greater abuse. At Cockan a man snapped a pistol at him, but it would not go off;



and he was no sooner landed on the island than he was assaulted by about forty men, armed with staves and fishing poles, with an intent to push him into the sea, which when he prevented, by pressing into the midst of them, he was knocked down and stunned: for James Lancaster, having been convinced there, they pretended that he had bewitched him, and promised his wife, if she would let them know when he came there, they would put him to death; and this seemed to be their intention; "but (says he) the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take my life." J. Lancaster's wife was amongst the foremost in this assault; for, when G. Fox recovered his senses, he observed her busy in throwing stones, while her husband was endeavouring to protect him, by covering him with his own body, to keep off the blows and stones aimed at him. This woman being afterwards convinced, repented of the evil she had been hurried into, as did some others. When George recovered his feet, they beat him down again into the boat, which J. Lancaster observing, came to him, and set him back over the water; when he got off, they fell on J. Naylor in the like manner. G. Fox landing again at Cockan, met with no better treatment, for the people there rose upon him with pitchforks, flails, and staves, crying out, "kill him!" After giving him much abuse, drove him some way out of the town, and left him, after which he walked three miles to a friend's house, named Thomas Hutton, where Thomas Lawson (who had been a priest, and was convinced by G. Fox) lodged. When arrived at this house, he was hardly able to speak, by reason of the wounds he had received, and could barely inform them of the jeopardy in which he left J. Naylor; whereupon they mounted their horses, went in search of him, and brought him thither that night.

Next

Next day M. Fell sent a horse to fetch him to Swarthmore; but it was with difficulty, and in much pain he got thither, through the foreness of his bruises.

The justices Sawrey and Thompson issued a warrant against him, but judge Fell coming home prevented its present effect: he was greatly displeased with the treatment which G. Fox and his friends had received in his absence, representing to Sawrey the illegality of his conduct in fomenting riots. He also sent warrants into the isle of Walney to apprehend the rioters, whereupon some of them absconded. Desiring G. Fox to give him a narrative of his abuse, he only told him, "They could do no otherwise, in the spirit wherein they were; that they manifested the fruits of their priests ministry, and their profession of religion to be wrong;" which made the judge remark, he spoke as of a matter in which he had no concern.

His enemies, not satisfied with stirring up the rabble against him, next made an attempt to endanger his life, by a false accusation of speaking blasphemy, and suborned false witnesses against him to prove it. Upon their information it was that the before-mentioned justices granted their warrant to apprehend him; G. Fox, hearing of it, voluntarily appeared at the ensuing sessions at Lancaster, to face his accusers. There appeared no less than forty priests, who chose one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, for their orator; a young priest, and two priests sons, for witnesses; but these witnesses failed of answering their ends; for after the first was examined, the second was so much at a loss to answer the questions put to him, that he acknowledged, "he could not say *it*," (I suppose repeat the blasphemous expressions) "but the other could."

There were in the court several men of integrity and reputation, who had been at that meeting where-in the witnesses swore he uttered those blasphemous expressions, and declared in court, "That the oath which these evidences had taken was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against him were spoken by him at that meeting."

The justices perceiving that the prosecution was malicious, discharged him. Judge Fell, after speaking to the justices who granted the warrant, and shewing them the errors thereof, in concert with Col. West, granted a superseas to stop its execution. This confederacy to inflict punishment on an innocent man, and to stop the progress of those doctrines he propagated, received a defeat in both attempts; for he was not only honourably acquitted in the open sessions, but, being called upon by Col. West, that if he had any thing to say to the people, he might freely declare it: he, feeling a proper qualification, made use of the liberty granted him; and though he met with opposition from some of the angry priests, they were so clearly confuted, and divine truths so powerfully opened by him, that many profelytes to his doctrine were gained that day; and amongst them Justice Benson of Westmoreland, Major Ripan, mayor of Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs (who had shewn much aversion to the Quakers) was so effectually convinced, that he became a faithful minister amongst them, and so continued to the end of his days.

Meetings were now settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation, and several had joined in the work of the ministry with the approbation and to the edification of their fellow members, so that the number of preachers was augmented to twenty-five, amongst whom F. Howgill, E. Burrough, John Camm, J. Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, with R. Farnsworth, W. Dewsbury, and  
J. Naylor,

J. Naylor, were eminent for their services and sufferings; for they had not only a share with G. Fox in his ministerial labours, but also in his mal-treatment.

In the course of this year J. Naylor and F. Howgill were imprisoned at Appleby; James being at a meeting at Orton, five priests with many people came thither; the priests asked him several questions, to which he gave such answers as frustrated their purposes of ensnaring him in his words. However, against the succeeding first day, they had prepared sermons filled with invectives against him; and some of them indulged their spleen so far, (as their hearers reported) as to assert it would be doing God service to knock him down. Having thus prepared the ruder sort, and one of the priests sons drawing a company of them together, beset the house where he was, and dragged him into a field, where a justice, sent for by a priest, was present, who commanded him to answer such questions as the priest should put to him, who after much conference, getting little advantage against him, grew angry, and warning the people not to receive him into their houses, turned away, and the people beginning to be abusive, the justice was about doing the same, as if they intended leaving him to the mercy of the populace. But at James's remonstrance, the justice turning back, rescued him for the present; yet at the instance of the priests, who were displeas'd thereat, he was again seized, and brought before the justice at a neighbouring alehouse, and because he did not put off his hat, they committed him to prison for his pretended contempt, and also as being a vagabond, under pretence, that none there knew whence he came; for they had shut out all his acquaintance: upon his appealing to the justice that he knew him, they having been in the army together several years, the justice replying it was no matter, made his mit-

timus, and carried him to Kirby-steven that night, and placed a guard over him. Amongst several of his friends, F. Howgill accompanied him thither, who took an opportunity to preach to the people, a considerable number being gathered in the street; upon which, being brought before a justice, after an examination, in which they endeavoured to wrest his expressions, in order to criminate him, he was likewise put under a guard, and next day, together with J. Naylor, sent to Appleby gaol.

At the sessions held in Appleby in the month called January, 1652, J. Naylor was tried on an indictment for blasphemy; but after a long examination, it appearing that the priests could not make out the charge exhibited against him, he was discharged by the justices from his imprisonment, which had continued about twenty weeks. Whether F. Howgill's confinement was of a longer or shorter continuance than this, we have no account.

Thomas Aldam, one of those early preachers, was also imprisoned this year in York, at the instigation of the priest of Warnsworth, for uttering some expressions after the priest had ended his sermon. At York assizes he was fined 40*l.* for coming into the court with his hat on: and was a second time imprisoned in York castle for refusing to pay tithes, and detained in prison two years and six months. He had also, for 11*l.* 10*s.* demanded for tithes, taken from him goods worth 58*l.* 10*s.*

In the course of the same year several others, whose religious concern induced them to exhort the priests and their congregations at the close of their public assemblies for worship, met with like treatment; but to describe particularly the sufferings they underwent for their Christian testimonies, would carry me far beyond my proposed limits. Their sufferings in the different counties of England and elsewhere, have been digested by Joseph Bessé, and make two volumes in folio.

CHAP.

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 CHAP. II.

FROM THE YEAR 1653, TO THE END OF THE COMMON-WEALTH.

**I**N the beginning of 1653, Oliver Cromwell taking the reins of government into his own hands, it doth not appear that the change produced any revolution in favour of the Quakers, for though the supreme power was in new hands, the subordinate magistrates were continued in office; nor do I find any material change among the ecclesiastics, so that their former persecutors retained power to be still troublesome to them: and their sufferings continued to increase with the increase of their numbers.

G. Fox passed about this time into Cumberland, and from place to place his ministry was so well received, that many new converts were gained in most places which he visited. Coming to Carlisle, he first preached to the soldiers in garrison there.

On the market-day, he went up to the Market-crofs, and cautioned the people against fraud in their dealings, and to speak the truth one to another. On the first day following he went to the place of public worship, and after the priest had done, he preached with a reaching power. The people of the town rose and assaulted him; but the governor sent down some musqueteers to appease the tumult, who in a friendly manner rescued him from further insult. A lieutenant who had been convinced took him to his house, and there they had a quiet and satisfactory meeting. The next day he was summoned before the magistrates, who falling into discourse with him upon religion, and manifesting their emptiness as to the essence thereof, he endeavoured to shew them, that although they were high in profession (being

Presbyterians and Independents) yet they were without the possession of what they professed. This plain dealing exasperating them, they committed him to prison, as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer, where he lay till the assizes. From the disposition that prevailed against him in this place, it is to be feared, the wish of many was, that he might be hanged. The high sheriff, Wilfry Lawson, indulged his rancour so far as to say, "he would guard him to execution himself." And the notion was so universal, that curiosity drew several persons to see him, as a man that was to die. At the assizes the magistrates held a consultation how to proceed against him, in order to bring him in guilty of death; but the judge's clerk starting a question that puzzled them, finding that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good against him, and that if brought to a trial he must be acquitted, they concluded not to bring him to trial at all.

Anthony Pearson, a justice of peace in Westmoreland, lately convinced, being then in Carlisle, and understanding the result of their consultation, wrote to the judges, shewing the illegality of this resolution, and demanding a fair trial for G. Fox; they paid no regard to this reasonable demand, but left him to the magistrates of the town, encouraging them to treat him with rigour. He had hitherto been confined in the jailer's house so closely, that all his friends were denied access to him; but the day after an order was sent to the jailer to put him among the felons, in a prison noisome to the last degree. Yet these prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some of them became converted by his doctrine. But far different was the conduct of the jailers, particularly that of the deputy, who in brutal rage would often beat him and his friends who came to see him.

Whilst

Whilst in confinement, among others who came to discourse with him was James Parnel, a youth of about sixteen years of age, who was by his conference so effectually reached that he was convinced, and became the means of convincing many others.

The report raised previous to the assizes, that G. Fox should be put to death; had by this time spread abroad; and it came to the ears of the parliament then sitting, that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, they ordered a letter of enquiry to the sheriffs and magistrates concerning him.

The justices Benson and Pearson having more than once demanded liberty of the magistrates to visit him in prison, and being refused, wrote to them, and at length A. Pearson got an opportunity, in company with the governor, to visit him, and found the place of his confinement to smell so exceedingly offensive, that the governor exclaimed at the barbarity of the magistrates, and calling the jailers, required securities for their good behaviour; the under-jailer, who had treated George with great cruelty, he ordered into the dungeon with him. In the mean time these persecuting magistrates, probably afraid of the parliament's further cognizance of their proceedings, and ashamed at the governor's remonstrance, soon after thought it expedient to release him, as the surest measure to bury their unjustifiable conduct in oblivion.

This year Miles Halhead, of Underbarrow in Westmoreland, feeling a concern to travel in Yorkshire, in obedience to what he believed his duty, proceeded on his journey, in which, for publishing those doctrines which he held as truth, he met with much abuse. At Skipton and Doncaster he was so beaten by the multitude, that they left him to appearance dead; but being supported by an invisible hand, he recovered, even to the astonishment of those who abused him, and to the conviction of many  
who



who had heard his doctrine, observed his patience in suffering, and the unprovoked malice of his assailants. T. Briggs in Lancaster, Robert Widders and W. Dewsbury in Cumberland, were also severally abused about this time.

But still G. Fox and his fellow-labourers persevered in their ministry with unremitting zeal and remarkable success, the number of their adherents increasing in proportion to the cruel efforts exerted to prevent their increase. The integrity of their lives, and Christian temper with which they suffered persecution, procured them the compassion and esteem of many. Others who heard them every where spoken against, and particularly from the pulpits, on a nearer acquaintance found them and their principles so grossly misrepresented, as induced them to associate with this people.

The short parliament, commonly called Barebones, having resigned their power, Cromwell was declared protector, and a model of a new legislature was drawn up, which he was sworn to observe; in which, as there were several articles in favour of liberty of conscience, some relaxation of the measures hitherto pursued against the Quakers was natural to be expected.

But notwithstanding these plausible appearances in favour of religious liberty, this people reaped no advantage therefrom; their meetings, though seemingly allowed, were in fact prohibited, since they were punished as sabbath-breakers, for travelling to them no further than their distant dwellings made it necessary. So hot for persecution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled misconstruction of the laws against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of *Quakers*.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt,  
and

and abuse from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity connected them in cordial affection amongst themselves; so that the priests and professors, who had vainly prophesied their downfall by other means, observing their mutual charity, began now to say, "they would eat one another out:" because many of them after meetings, having a great way to go, took a night's lodging at some of their friends houses, sometimes in large numbers: others expressed their fears that, by their expenses in entertaining one another, they would be reduced to beggary, and fall a charge upon the parishes\*. But many of these lived to see the vanity of their forebodings; for it pleased Providence remarkably to bless and prosper them. At first, indeed, people were shy of dealing with them, by reason of their plain, and, as it was generally esteemed, uncouth demeanour; and by reason of the general aversion produced by misrepresentation, so that many of this people were reduced to difficulty in procuring a living by their callings for a season; but afterwards, when they became better known, and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce, careful in manufacturing or choosing such goods as might answer the expectations of the purchasers, moderate in their profits, sparing in their commendations, and punctual in payment, not asking more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept, taking no advantage of ignorance, the unskilful customer being treated with as much justice as the most judicious; their tried integrity begat general confidence, and brought them a great resort of customers,

\* This people have never suffered their poor to fall an incumbrance on their parishes; but they have ever afforded them a comfortable support amongst themselves; and at the same time evidence a readiness with the foremost to contribute to the support of the common poor, both in their quota of the poor tax, and in extending private charity to deserving objects within their notice.

so that they prospered greatly in their outward affairs.

Meetings being settled in many parts of the north, and with the number of professors the number of ministers proportionably increasing, several conceived it their duty to go into other parts of the nation. Of these F. Howgill and E. Burrough travelled to London; J. Camm and J. Audland to Bristol; R. Hubberthorn and George Whitehead to Norwich, and others to other parts. G. Fox, solicitous for the advancement of the truth, and that the conduct of those who were concerned to promote it might not in the least degree sully the brightness thereof, wrote an epistle, admonishing them to prudence; to abide under the cross of Christ; to receive wisdom from God by the light; and not to be hasty to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience. F. Howgill and E. Burrough arrived in London in company with A. Pearson, being the first of the people called Quakers that had a meeting in London; F. Howgill and A. Pearson at the house of Robert Dring in Watling-street, and E. Burrough the same day in the assembly of a separate society: their ministerial labours were blessed with success, being attended with a convincing power, awakening the consciences of the audience to a sense of their conditions and earnest desires after salvation.

Feeling sympathy with his brethren under persecution, with whom he had been a fellow-sufferer, F. Howgill went to court to intercede with O. Cromwell to put a stop thereto; but his visit seems to have had a more beneficial effect upon Oliver's servants than upon himself; for some of these, particularly Theophilus Green and Mary Sanders, were so far affected, that after some time they joined the society.

He afterwards wrote to Oliver on the same subject; but the sequel doth not manifest any good effects

effects resulting therefrom; his friends continued still subject to a variety of hardships, during the remainder of Oliver's protectorate.

Through the preaching of E. Burrough and F. Howgill, many citizens of London were brought over to their profession, so that meetings were settled in that city, first in the house of Sarah Sawyer in Aldersgate-street, then in that of ——— Bates in Tower-street, and another at Gerard Roberts's in Thomas Apostles, till the body growing too large for private houses to accommodate, a house known by the name of "Boulogne Mouth, in Martins-le-grand," near Aldersgate, was hired for a meeting-house.

Now the press, as well as the pulpits, was set to work: books and publications by the teachers of several sects were spread abroad, representing the Quakers as seducers: but the event did not answer their hope, for Burrough and Howgill did not suffer these writings to pass unnoticed; but clearly manifested the malice and the absurdities of the writers.

It doth not appear that they met with any molestation in their persons in the metropolis; but after they had gathered and settled meetings there, they travelled to Bristol, where J. Camm and J. Audland had arrived before, and whose ministry there had been effectual to gather a number to their community. Their public assemblies, for want of room in the usual meeting-houses, were held in the fields, even in winter, increasing in number to two, three, and sometimes near four thousand. This alarmed the priests, and they the magistrates, who on the 30th Oct. held a council, the mayor presiding, and sent for Burrough and Howgill. The issue of their examination, at which none of their friends were suffered to be present, was an order for their departing the city forthwith. To this they answered: "We  
came

came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man, but when He shall move us to depart, who moved us to come hither, we shall obey: we are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law: to your commands we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city preaching as before; for though the magistrates bore them no good will, yet they could not either by law or justice execute the order they had made. Enraged at this disappointment, the priests excited the mob to do what the magistrates could not. On the 19th of Dec. J. Camm and J. Audland, passing over the bridge toward Brislington, where they had appointed a meeting, were assaulted by the rabble, whose ignorant zeal had been blown up to the highest pitch of fury by one Farmer, a persecuting priest, and some others. They violently drove back the innocent strangers, some crying out, "hang them presently;" others, "knock them down;" some proposed to drag them out of the city, in order to execute their purpose, but were dissuaded by others who advised first to carry them before the mayor. Then they dragged them to the Tolzey, where the courts of justice are held. There again the mob would probably have torn them to pieces, had not a friend with much danger and difficulty got them into his house. The rabble threatened to pull down the house, but the officers of the garrison approaching, the mob dispersed. Next morning the two strangers passed over the bridge to their meeting at Brislington. Three of the rioters having been apprehended, a mob gathered again to the number of 1500, and forced the discharge of their companions. Towards evening it was rumoured that the Quakers were returning, whereupon multitudes drew

drew together on the bridge, and on the other side of the river Avon, uttering terrible menaces, so that the magistrates, fearing bloodshed, sent their sword-bearer to prevent the men from returning that way, for that "they could not undertake to secure them." These disorders were too much countenanced by men in office. It was credibly reported that George Helliar, an Alderman, said at the Tolzey, to some of the rioters, "that he would spend his blood, and lose his life, rather than that any of his fellow apprentices should go to prison:" such familiarity increased their insolence. Nevertheless the magistrates soon after, in representing these tumults to the Protector, charged the innocent men, against whom they were raised, as the authors of them.

Amidst so many instances of arbitrary rule and lawless riot, I am pleased to meet with one of a more Christian disposition in the mayor of Oxford of this year (1654). Eliz. Heavens and Eliz. Fletcher, two North-country women, came under a religious concern to the said city, to exhort the inhabitants to repentance. Their labours of love met with inhuman return from the scholars, who drove them to the pump in John's College, where they pumped water on their necks and into their mouths till they were almost suffocated; after which they tied them arm to arm, and dragged them up and down the college and through a pool of water: they threw Eliz. Fletcher over a grave, whereby she received a contusion on her side, from which she never recovered. A few days after, the same women went to exhort the people to the practice of godliness: two justices of peace, who were present, ordered them to a prison, usually appropriated to the reception of felons. Next day those justices sent a message to the mayor, to meet them and others to examine these Quakers, who expressed his disapprobation of their proceedings: "Let them," said he, "who committed them, deal with

with them according to law; for my part, I have nothing against them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly supply them." However, when the justices met, after a short examination, the women were ordered to withdraw, while the magistrates consulted together; and though nothing appeared to criminate them, they drew up their sentence against them in writing, That they should be whipped out of the city. According to the legal constitution of the city, it was requisite for the mayor to sign a sentence of corporeal punishment, and affix his seal of office to make it valid, which in this case he refused to do. The vice-chancellor and his coadjutors resolved, since the mayor would not legalize the sentence, they would have it executed without him, and accordingly gave orders that the poor women should be severely whipped the next morning, and had their order effectually executed; though the conviction of their innocence affected the heart even of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with reluctance. The women bearing their grievous sufferings with Christian patience, without murmuring, their meek and patient behaviour impressed many of the sober inhabitants with compassionate sympathy towards them, who in much love accompanied them out of the city.

In this year Barbara Blaugdon of Bristol met with usage equally severe. She was a woman religiously inclined from her youth, and esteemed in her profession, which was the instruction of children. She was so abstemious as to deny herself the use of flesh, drinking only water for the space of a year. This woman was repeatedly concerned to intercede on behalf of her persecuted friends, and not without success, and was remarkably exposed to a variety of persecutions herself. At Marlborough, for exhorting the people to fear God, she was imprisoned for the

the space of six weeks; and after her release, visiting Isaac Burgess, the magistrate who committed her, by her discourse his understanding was so opened, that he assented to the truth; and though he had not resolution to make public profession thereof, yet he was ever afterwards a man of moderation, and a friendly protector of the members of this community. Soon after, passing into Devonshire, at Great Torrington, for expressing a few words of exhortation to the people in the place of public worship, she was summoned before the mayor, who conducted himself with moderation, and seemed reluctant to send her to prison. But the priest's urgency prevailed over the magistrate's moderation, by whom she was sent to Exeter prison, twenty miles distant, where she was detained till the assizes, but brought to no trial; and after the assizes she was lodged one night among a number of gipsies who were there in prison. Next day the sheriff coming with the beadle, brought her into a room, where she was whipped till the blood ran down her back; and such was her magnanimity, that she never started at a blow. The beadle, provoked at her constancy; laid on his stripes with redoubled fury, till the sheriff seeing that their malice made no impression upon her, ordered the fellow to desist. The next day she was turned out of the city with the gipsies, the beadle following them two miles. Upon his leaving them, she returned to visit her friends she had left behind in prison, which having done, she went home to Bristol.

She had not been long home, before she felt an impulse on her mind to go abroad on the following occasion: two of her friends, Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge, being at a meeting at Basingstoke in Hampshire (the first friends had there) were committed to prison, where they had lain for some time; and Barbara apprehending it her duty to visit them, and use endeavours to obtain their release,  
went



went to Basingstoke; and upon her arrival, going to the prison, was refused admittance. She then went to the mayor, and requested their liberty; which he promised to grant, provided he might see the letter she had brought them, (viz. a letter from J. Camm) which she readily producing; after he had read it, he told her she should have her friends out, but that he could not let them out presently: yet it was not long before they were set at liberty.

G. Fox, after his release from Carlisle jail, travelled through sundry parts of the north of England, and through Yorkshire into Lincolnshire: the sheriff of Lincoln coming to a meeting which he was at, made great contention for a time, but at length was so reached by the power attending George's testimony, that he was convinced, as were several others also who came to oppose.

During his stay in this country, his friends increased, and many received his doctrine; amongst others Sir Rich. Wrey, his brother, and brother's wife. But Sir Richard finding the way too narrow, left their community after some time.

Travelling through Derbyshire into Leicestershire, he came to Swanington, to a general meeting, where he met J. Audland, F. Howgill, Edw. Pyot from Bristol, and Edw. Burrough from London. To this meeting came many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors; but that power which attended George and his friends brought them down, so that many of them became convinced.

From hence he went to Twycrofs and Drayton, to visit his relations. While he was here, Nathaniel Stephens, priest of Drayton, having first got another priest to dispute, and after that seven others to join him, had given public notice, unknown to George, that on such a day there would be a meeting and dispute with him. Upon this occasion several hundreds were gathered to witness the triumph

umph of the priests. This combination was formed with a view to get an advantage by numbers over George and his friends, in order to bring them and their principles into disgrace; but the event did not answer their hopes; for in the course of their conference George drawing a striking parallel between their practices and those of the false prophets and pharisees, the priests in disappointment quitted the field, and many of the people were convinced that day. George's father, who was still in communion with Stephens, as one of his parishioners, was so well satisfied, that, striking his cane upon the ground, he said, "Truly I see, he that will stand to the truth, it will carry him through."

At Whetstone, where a meeting was to be held, Col. Hacker sent about seventeen troopers, who took up G. Fox, and brought him before the Colonel and his officers, by the procurement of the priests, as he thought. And after much discourse with them, the Colonel gave him liberty "to go home," provided "he would stay there and not go abroad to meetings." But George being unwilling to agree to the conditions, his son Nedham said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off." So malicious a speech drew from George this pertinent query. "For what? what have I done? or whom have I wronged from a child? In this country I had my birth and education, and who can accuse me of any evil from my infancy to this day?"—Then the Colonel asked him, if he would go home and stay at home? George looking upon this requisition as unreasonable, having administered no cause for such restriction of his liberty, replied, "If he should agree thereto it would imply that he was guilty of something, for which his home was made his prison: and if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he should  
go

go to meeting, and could not answer their requirements." "Well then," said Hacker, "I will send you to-morrow morning by six o'clock to my Lord Protector, by Capt. Drury, one of his life-guard." That night he was kept in the Marshalsea, and next morning about the hour appointed delivered to Capt. Drury. But before they set off, requesting to speak with Col. Hacker, he was taken to his bed-side, where George kneeled down, and prayed the Lord "to forgive him:" looking upon him to be like Pilate, willing to wash his hands while he complied with the instigations of the persecuting priests; and therefore desired him, "When the day of his misery and trial came upon him, then to remember what he had said to him."

So parting from him, he was carried prisoner to London, where being lodged at the Mermaid, Charing-Cross, Capt. Drury went to inform the Protector, who sent him back with this message, "That the Protector required of G. Fox, that he should promise not to take up the sword against him or the government, as it then was; that he should write it in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it." George, on consideration thereof, wrote to the Protector the next morning by the name of Oliver Cromwell, declaring in the presence of the Lord, "That he did deny the wearing or drawing of a sword, or any outward weapon, against him or any man. That he was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to bring people from the occasion of wars and fightings to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil doers, to whom the magistrates sword should be a terror;" to which he subscribed his name, and gave it to Drury to deliver to Cromwell. Some time after Drury returned, and took G. Fox before the Protector at Whitehall. Upon his coming in he said, "Peace be in this house," and exhorted the  
Protector

Protector "to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory. They had some discourse about religion, in which the Protector carried himself with much moderation: but remarking that "G. Fox and his friends quarrelled with the ministers," George told him he did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with him; but, added he; if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot uphold such teachers as they testified against, that is, such as violate Christ's command; who take the oversight of the flock for filthy lucre, and divine for money. When George made a motion to retire, upon other people coming in, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to another;" adding, "that he wished him no more ill than he did his own soul." Then George bade him "hearken to the voice of God, stand in his counsel, and obey it; if he did so it would preserve him from hardness of heart; but if not, his heart would be hardened." The Protector seemed affected, and said, "It was true." George then took his leave, and Drury following him out, informed him that the Lord Protector said he was at liberty, and might go whither he would.

He staid during the remaining part of the year in London, where he had very crowded meetings. The number of his friends greatly increased, and he could reckon some belonging to Cromwell's court in the number of those convinced.

From thence he went into Bedfordshire, where he had a meeting at the house of John Crook, a justice of peace, who, with others, was convinced; on which account he was deprived of his commission. After  
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some time he became an able minister, and a serviceable member of this religious community.

About this time William Caton and John Stubbs went into Kent. It seems proper, as they have not been noticed before, to make the reader a little acquainted with them.

W. Caton, about the fourteenth year of his age, was introduced into the family of Judge Fell, where his agreeable disposition so ingratiated him with that family, that he was made companion to the judge's son. They learned together for some time under a private tutor, and were afterwards removed to a public school at Hawkshead.

Judge Fell, his wife and daughters, being persons of virtuous demeanour, the conversation in such company, gave him an early turn to piety.

In 1652 (as before recited) G. Fox came to Swarthmore and preached in the family; and so affected W. Caton, that he became subject to this internal convincement, whereby he felt much restriction in his conduct, and could no longer take the liberties he had done before. The change of company he met with at Hawkshead, on comparison with that he had left at Swarthmore, did not sit easy on his mind; which M. Fell perceiving, caused him to stay at home, where she employed him in writing and teaching her children. Being arrived at his eighteenth year, he was increased in experience; and in a while esteeming it his duty to labour in the ministry, he desired to be discharged from his engagements in that family, which was granted in consideration of the service for which it was asked; and about the end of 1654 he took his leave, not without tears on both sides.

J. Stubbs was a soldier in O. Cromwell's army, and being in garrison at Carlisle when G. Fox was in prison there, he was convinced by him, and became a minister amongst this people. When Cromwell

well took the reins of government into his own hands, he required the soldiers and others to take an oath of fidelity to him; but several of them, when the oath was tendered to them, declared, that in obedience to Christ's command, they durst not swear, whereupon they were disbanded; amongst these refusers was J. Stubbs, who the latter end of this year, or the beginning of the next, travelled to London, where he met with W. Caton: they travelled into Kent, and coming to Dover, altogether strangers, they took up their lodgings at an inn. They sought opportunities of publishing their doctrines in the congregations of professors in that town; but the most remarkable opportunity was at a meeting of Baptists, to which abundance of people resorted, and many were affected with their doctrine, and adhered to it, which occasioned such a stir, that they were haled before the magistrates, who prohibited the inhabitants from entertaining them under a penalty, whereupon they were turned out of their lodgings, but Luke Howard received them into his house, and heard them gladly. The mayor sent four constables, with an order, to take them from thence, and turn them out of the town; but Luke asserting his right, as a freeman of the corporation, refused to comply with the order, insisting, that the mayor had no legal authority to violate the laws of hospitality in his house, by forcing out his guests, who were not accused of any crime. They tarried with him some days, and so confirmed him in the belief of their principles, that he publicly declared himself to be of their persuasion, and had meetings afterwards frequently at his house.

Soon after they came to Lidd, where dwelt Samuel Fisher, who, as priest of the parish, had been employed by the master of L. Howard, then an apprentice, to confer with him for declining to sing

the Psalms of David\* in public worship. The result of this conversation was, that Howard's reasons had such a convincing effect on S. Fisher's mind, that he found a difficulty in giving out David's conditions to the people to sing any more. He was a man of good abilities, having received a liberal education in his minority, and afterwards prosecuted his studies at the university—while there, he was remarkable for his circumspect conversation. When he had finished his studies he was ordained priest, and was first a chaplain to some man of quality, and afterwards presented to the living at Lidd, worth 200l. a year. Continuing to preach for wages, became a burden too grievous for him to bear; he resigned his living, placing his confidence in Providence for the future support of himself and family. He rented a farm, and commenced grazier, by which he procured a decent competency, enhanced by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart.

Having discovered too great a mixture of human invention and tradition retained in the episcopal church, he withdrew from its communion, and joined the Baptists, amongst whom he became an eminent teacher.

It was about this time that W. Caton and J. Stubbs came to Lidd, whom S. Fisher received into his house. J. Stubbs going to the meeting where Fisher preached, and having gotten an opportunity

\* Luke was very open in declaring the reasons of his scruple, to the following purport: That God was a spirit, and to be worshipped, not in other men's words, but in spirit and in truth. That it was a falsehood for a proud man to sing, that "he was not puffed up in his mind;—he had no scornful eye,—and he did not exercise himself in things that were too high." That it was absurd for any man to sing, "Rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because other men keep not thy laws," whilst he never knew a true sorrow and repentance for "his own sins."

according

according to the principles of friends, he delivered his doctrine with clearness and authority, whereby S. Fisher was so affected, that he soon after openly professed himself of this despised society, particularly on the following occasion: Hammond, his colleague in office, in a sermon uttering many invectives against the Quakers, S. Fisher thought his duty called upon him, in justice to his misinformed flock, and the injured Quakers, to bear his testimony in opposition to the calumnies of his colleague, and in the sincerity of his heart having borne testimony to the truth, he corroborated it by joining with the society, and proved a serviceable member, both by his gospel labours and judicious writings.

W. Caton and J. Stubbs continued their journey through Kent, where they met with many religiously inclined, who readily embraced their doctrine; some of these being desirous to make them pecuniary acknowledgment, and being urgent with them to accept thereof, they acknowledged their good-will, but refused their money, letting them know, it was not their goods, but the good of them which they sought.

Travelling on to Maidstone, J. Stubbs went to the public place of worship, then possessed by the Presbyterians, and W. Caton to the meeting of the Independents. J. Stubbs was taken from the worship-house and put into the stocks, and afterwards examined by the Recorder, to whom he rendered a good account of himself and of his estate, being sufficient to support himself and his family. Caton was next day taken to the inn, and also examined by the Recorder; when they were both sent to the house of correction, where they were searched; their money, ink-horns, Bibles, &c. taken away. Afterwards they were stripped, put in the stocks, and so cruelly whipped with cords, as to draw tears from the spectators. These endeavours were used to compel them to work, but in vain; for as they were



guilty of the breach of no law, they refused to comply with the unreasonable demand. Their persecutors, therefore, kept them some days without victuals, allowing them only a little water once a day. Some of the malefactors imprisoned there, would have shared their bread with them, but they were not free to accept it. The report of their treatment being spread in the town, and producing compassion in many of the inhabitants, and aversion to this arbitrary severity, an officer was sent to restore them some of the property, which had been taken from them; and then they purchased victuals with their own money. Not long after, they were separated, and sent away with a pass, like vagabonds, being sent off at different ends of the town. They met again at London, and had not been long there, before they apprehended it a duty required of them, to return to Maidstone, to fulfil their ministry in that, and places adjacent. This, after their late sufferings there, was a great trial; but believing it to be a divine requiring, they gave up, and were suffered to discharge their duty, and pass away unmolested. From thence they went to Canterbury and at the meeting of the Baptists and Independents had liberty to publish their doctrine, whereby some being convinced of the truth thereof, received their testimony.

In the latter end of this year and the beginning of the next, they took their journey together to Scotland; and at Berwick W. Caton went to the public worship-house, and after the priest had concluded, had liberty to deliver what was on his mind; but when he had done, was taken before the magistrates, who ordered him to be turned out of the town; which order was immediately executed. J. Stubbs was that day at the Baptist's meeting, and had some service there. They travelled on to Edinburgh, where they found some disorders had crept into the church; but, through the effectual influence  
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of their ministry, better order was restored amongst them. From hence J. Stubbs returned to England. W. Caton stayed some time longer in Scotland, exercising his ministerial labours, in sundry places, to good purpose. Having eased his mind, he returned to Swarthmore, where he was received with much affection.

Richard Hubberthorn coming into Norfolk, at Wymondham, feeling a concern to exhort the congregation there, after the priest had ended his sermon, was committed to Bridewell; and from thence, the next day, to Norwich castle, where he was lodged in a very incommodious prison; being a small hole in a cross wall, and there detained till the sessions: when the justices took occasion, from his appearing before them with his hat on, to charge him with a contempt of authority; and under that pretence, re-committed him to prison.

G. Whitehead also, believing it a duty required of him to go to that called Peter's church in Norwich, to bear such testimony as the Lord might give him, was haled out, and much hurt; and from thence hurried to the Guildhall, before the mayor, who examined him concerning water baptism, and some other things, in hopes to get some answer from him which might furnish a plausible pretext for committing him to prison; but getting no advantage against him from his answers, he committed him to prison notwithstanding.

J. Lancaster, for calling the people to repentance in the market at Norwich, had been committed, with one Christopher Atkinson, to the same prison a short time before; where, not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, they lay in their clothes on the floor for eight weeks in the cold winter, which was a great hardship; especially on G. Whitehead, a youth of eighteen years of age, who had been tenderly educated.

At the ensuing sessions for that city, G. Whitehead and J. Lancaster were discharged by the court; but still detained by the jailer, under pretence of fees, several weeks longer; till the jailer died, and his widow, of a more merciful disposition, set them at liberty.

Atkinson, being of a rougher temper, for uttering some bitter expressions against his opposers, was detained longer in prison; actions being laid against him by a priest and an attorney, and by giving way to passion, he fell from the tenderness of his first conviction, and ministered occasion to the adversaries to speak reproachfully.

Not long after this, Thomas Symonds, for asking a priest a serious question respecting his doctrine, was committed to Norwich castle; and G. Whitehead going to visit him and another friend, under confinement, was by order of the mayor detained there about three weeks.

Amongst numbers who were convinced in those parts by R. Hubberthorn and G. Whitehead, was Capt. John Laurence, (and most of his family) who, having been a member of an Independent congregation at Norwich, was summoned to their meeting in the parish church, called George's of Tombland, to answer the charge against him for leaving their communion; and he, being disposed to appear, was accompanied by G. Whitehead.

After J. Laurence had given his reason for leaving them, they proceeded to excommunicate him; and a great concourse of people being gathered, G. Whitehead stood up to deliver a brief exhortation; but had scarce begun, when he was pushed out of the worship-house, and exposed to a multitude, prepared for mischief, from whom he received much abuse; being dragged along the street, and thereby grievously bruised. In going out of the city, he came near a house belonging to lady Hubbard; her chaplain

lain coming out to see the occasion of the tumult, entered into discourse with G. Whitehead; and during their discourse, the mob, who seemed intent upon further mischief, stood round them in a ring to hear what passed. In the mean time a trooper coming up, kindly rescued him, and conducted him safely to T. Symonds's house in the city. This trooper, whose name was Robert Turner, was afterwards convinced, and joined the society, residing at Lynn in Norfolk.

R. Hubberthorn being still detained in Norwich castle, G. Whitehead continued attending meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by Richard Clayton and others. After R. Hubberthorn was set at liberty, they joined again as companions, and had several large and comfortable meetings together. In several of these meetings they were interrupted by opposition from some preachers of other societies. Yet two of them, Richard Townsend, and John Burch, a preacher among the Baptists, were so far affected, that after a season of serious consideration, they both joined in society with friends, and became serviceable members and ministers among them.

In the summer of 1655, G. Whitehead, John Harwood, and R. Clayton, passing through Buers, a town in Suffolk, R. Clayton fixed a paper on the door of the worship-house there, containing some quotations from Scripture: several people came together to read it, to whom G. Whitehead and J. Harwood gave a Christian exhortation "to live in the fear of the Lord, and to turn from the evil of the ways, &c." While they were speaking, a constable came and carried them before Herbert Pelham, an Essex justice, then at Buers; who examined them, though officiously, being out of his precinct, and then sent them together with Clayton, to Thomas Waldgrave, a justice at Small-bridge; who, having

asked them a few questions, left them in the custody of the constable, till Pelham and he had consulted together: the issue of which was, that R. Clayton, by Waldgrave's order, was whipped publicly as a vagabond, and sent out of the town, the same day, with a pass. J. Harwood was the next day sent to Edmundsbury gaol, and G. Whitehead the day following. A few weeks after, Geo. Rose was sent to the same prison, by justice Gurdon, with a mittimus, assigning no breach of law, nor any matter of fact; nor indeed had he given any just occasion of offence, except his asking a question of the priest of Stoke after his sermon; at which the priest was displeased, and the justice, to avenge the parson's quarrel, took this extrajudicial course to send the poor man to prison.

At the next quarter sessions, Whitehead, Harwood, and Rose, were indicted as common disturbers. The justices who committed them were their sole accusers; and an ignorant jury, by direction of the court, presently found them guilty; whereupon they were fined twenty nobles each, and recommitted to prison till payment. G. Fox of Chafesfield, commonly called G. Fox the younger, to distinguish him from the other of that name, being present at the trial, and observing the prejudice expressed by justice Gurdon against the prisoners, said to him, as he was coming out of the sessions house, "Repent of thy unjust actions this day, for otherwise thou canst not escape the just judgment of God." Upon this Gurdon had him before the bench, who demanded sureties till the next sessions, which he not complying with, they sent him to prison with the others.

On the 22d of November, Henry Marshal, for speaking a few words to a priest after his sermon was ended, was, by order of justice Gurdon, first set in the stocks, and then sent to Edmundsbury jail. At the

the next sessions he was fined twenty marks, and remanded to prison. At the same sessions G. Fox was called, but no indictment found against him; yet the court sent him back to prison.

The usage of these five prisoners was very hard: because they would not gratify the jailer's avarice; in paying him an extravagant price for their lodging, and demanding a free prison, (not knowing how long their imprisonment might continue,) he turned them down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye straw: and because they declined advancing his gains, by buying his strong liquors; and bore their testimony against the drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders he permitted in his house; reproving him for his hypocrisy, for he made high pretensions to religion, while he suffered, and, for his gain, promoted licentiousness; he was exceedingly embittered against them, so as often to strike them on the face, and grievously abuse them various ways, both by words and blows; as did his servants also. Some of the prisoners, encouraged by his example, frequently took away their food and other necessaries, alledging the jailer gave them leave so to do; one, desperately wicked, frequently kicked and smote them, and, when drunk, threatened to kill them, saying, "If he killed them he should not be hanged for it."

After they had been in prison about thirty weeks, the jailer demanded arrears of dues for fourteen pence a week from each of them; which they, who were obliged to buy even the straw they lay upon, remonstrating against as an unreasonable demand, he ordered their bed-clothes and boxes to be taken away, threatening to take their coats from off their backs. For the space of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie in part of their body, clothes upon straw. When clean linen, &c. were brought them,

the jailer caused them to be seized; and when professions were brought, they were not permitted to receive them before they were examined. One time being enraged at their constant testimony against the gross disorders abounding in the jail through his self-interested connivance, he caused them to be put down into a dungeon, in which was a dangerous deep pit. When their friends came to visit them, he would not admit them; and if they endeavoured to speak to them at the window or door of the jail, water was frequently thrown upon them, to drive them away.

At length an account of their usage was sent to their friends in London, upon which they made application to the Protector, and his deputy Fleetwood; and an order was sent down, to have the matters of fact complained of examined into by four justices; who, hearing their case in the jailer's presence, which he could not gainsay, some of them blamed the jailer, and charged him not to suffer his servants to abuse them, for if they did, they would send them to Ipswich jail.

After this examination they met with better treatment. One of the justices, John Clark, being the jailer's neighbour, and a fellow member of the same community, seemed to discover a partiality to his side; so that from his behaviour, through the whole examination, they conceived little hope of an impartial account being returned to the protector; or that their release would follow the justice's representation, which it did not for some time.

But the report of the hardships they endured again reached their friends in London, whose application to Cromwell, being seconded by the private solicitations of Mary Sanders\*, a waiting gentle-

\* Afterwards Mary Stout, and one of the people called Quakers, of exemplary conduct.

woman

woman in Cromwell's family, at last procured an order for their release, after an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months. Pursuant to this order Sir Francis Ruffill caused them immediately to be set at liberty.

In the beginning of this year, 1656, J. Parnel travelled southward, labouring in the propagation of those doctrines he received as truth; for which service he was eminently qualified, although but a youth of about eighteen years of age. He was born at Retford in Nottinghamshire, and had the advantage of a good education. He joined the society of Friends as early as the sixteenth year of his age, and for that reason was rejected by his relations.

He took his journey through Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely into Cambridgeshire, preaching the gospel and reasoning with opposers. At Cambridge, for publishing a declaration against corrupt ministers and magistrates, he was detained in prison over two sessions, and afterwards turned out of the town as a vagabond. He soon after returned, and disputed with the scholars, from whom he met with very cruel treatment. He thence prosecuted his journey into Essex, being the first of the society who preached the gospel in that county: at Stebbing, Felsted, Witham, Coggeshall, and Halsted; and other places, many by his ministry were convinced. About the middle of summer he came to Colchester, and on the first day of the week preached to a large number, first at his lodging, then at the public place of worship; next in a great meeting appointed on purpose. After that he disputed with the town-lecturer and another priest in the French school, all in one day; and a considerable conviction was the fruit of his labour. Among the rest, Stephen Crisp, a man of good parts, coming to discourse with him, and James appearing at first sight a mere boy, he viewed him with contempt; but upon entering



entering into discourse with him, the awful frame of his spirit, and weight of his expressions, caused his admiration; and at length approving the doctrine, became himself an eminent publisher of the same. J. Parnel spent the rest of that week in preaching there, to the conviction of many more; while others were provoked to such a degree of rage, as often to reward with blows his fervent zeal for their reformation: one blind zealot struck him a violent blow with a great staff, saying, "Take that for Christ's sake;" to whom this innocent sufferer meekly replied, "Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake." From thence he went to Coggeshall, where the Independent professors had appointed a fast on purpose to pray against the spreading of error, by which they meant the doctrine of the Quakers. The priest who had officiated on the occasion had prepared a sermon, replete with invectives against that people. J. Parnel being present, esteemed it his duty to vindicate himself and brethren against his misrepresentations, for which he was apprehended and brought before four justices. After examination, he was committed to Colchester Castle, where he was closely confined. And at the time of the ensuing assizes at Chelmsford, he was fastened to a chain with felons, and so led above twenty miles through the country, remaining chained day and night.

At his trial he was brought to the bar handcuffed, but the people exclaiming against that barbarity, at his next appearance his manacles were taken off. The judge seemed to be predetermined against him, saying, the Protector had charged him to punish such as should contemn either magistrates or ministers, and in his charge to the jury he directed them to bring him in guilty. After consultation, the jury found nothing to lay to his charge but a book or paper, entitled the Fruits of a Fast, in which he had

had answered the justice's mittimus; and wherein he exposed the errors and inconsistency of the charge against him, justified the peaceableness of his own demeanour, and gave a solid account of the work of divine grace upon his soul, and of the necessity laid upon him to testify against the formalities and will-worship of human invention; and this writing he had owned to be his. But being indicted for a riot, they found themselves under a difficulty to agree in their verdict. The judge and the clerk strove to wrest some expressions for their purpose from the foreman, to which the others did not consent, and himself was unwilling to answer their questions fully. J. Parnel was then made to withdraw, and being called in again, the judge fined him 40l. for contempt of the magistracy and ministry, and re-committed him to the same prison till he should pay the fine.

The jailer would suffer none to come near him but such as came to abuse him; and the jailer's wife, not only ordered her servant to beat him, but struck him with her own hands. When his friends sent him victuals, she ordered the other prisoners to take them; and when a bed was sent him, she refused him the use of it, but obliged him to lodge on the damp stones. After this he was put into a hole in the castle wall, and the ladder placed for the purpose of going up to it, being several feet too short, he was obliged to climb up and slide down by a rope to fetch his victuals; for when his friends would have given him a cord and basket to draw up his food by, the keeper would not suffer it. By lying long in that damp hole his limbs became greatly benumbed; so that as he was once going up the ladder with his food in one hand, attempting to catch the rope with the other, he missed his aim and fell down, whereby he received such contusions in his head and body that he was taken up for dead.

dead. After this he was put into a hole underneath the other, there being two stories of such narrow vaulted holes in the wall. Thus bruised with his fall, and shut up where he could hardly breathe, his life appeared in imminent danger; whereupon two of his friends, W. Talcot and Edw. Grant, wealthy tradesmen of the town, offered to be bound in sufficient bonds, and Tho. Shortland, another of his friends, offered to lie in prison in his stead, so that he might have liberty to go to W. Talcot's house till he might recover of his bruises; but this was denied. When they were requested only to grant him the common privilege of other prisoners, liberty to walk sometimes in the yard, they would not. It happened once that the door being open, he went out of the hole into a narrow yard between two walls, when the keeper shut him in the yard all night, in the extremity of winter. His tender constitution sunk under the hardships of his unmerited imprisonment, and after ten or eleven months he died. Thomas Shortland and Ann Langley were present at his departure. When death approached, he said, "Here I die innocently;" and a little after turning his head to Thomas, "This death I must die, Thomas, I have seen great things, don't hold me, but let me go." He had repeatedly said one hour's sleep would cure him of all. His last audible words were, "Now I go;" and then stretched himself out and breathed his last. The relentless obduracy of his persecutors seems to have been proof against every incentive to sensations of humanity; no regard to the tenderness of his youth, the innocence of his demeanour, the solicitations of his friends; or the danger of his dying under their hands, could prevail upon them to relax their rigorous treatment. Instead of repenting of their cruelty, the apparent cause of his death, they raised a report that he was the occasion of his own death, by wilfully

fully refraining from food, which was proved absolutely untrue, by the testimony of credible witnesses, who were frequently with him during his sickness.

About this time, 1656, William Dewsbury, travelling in Northamptonshire, came to Wellingborough, where, as he was passing along the street, the priest, Thomas Andrews, called out to him, "Give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God fall upon thee." Being thus in public charged as a deceiver, he thought himself called upon to bring the priest to the proof of his charge, or public acknowledgment of his error: for that purpose he went soon after to the house for worship, and, waiting till the people were dismissed, he spake to them. Then addressing himself to the priest, he said, "Thou hast accused me of deceiving the people; prove thy accusation before this audience, or acknowledge the falsehood of it." But the priest, without answering, went away: and William was haled out of the house into the yard, where he preached to the people, who stood quietly to hear him, till the high constable came, and led him to the market-place, saying he would bring evidence against him for blasphemy. After a short time he was let go, and lodged at a friend's house that night; but next day a constable apprehended him with a warrant, granted against the Quaker, without mentioning his name, and took him before a justice, who committed him to Northampton jail, by a mittimus which was said to contain a charge of blasphemy; wherefore William solicited for a copy of it; but his request was not granted.

By the same mittimus Joseph Storr, who only came to hear his friend's examination, and against whom there was no accusation, was sent to prison with him: They were put into a dungeon, twelve steps under ground, among felons, till the ensuing quarter sessions, at which they were brought before  
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the bench of justices, where their mittimus was read: a copy of it again requested and refused.

No cognizance was taken of their cause, but they were remanded to prison, to lie there till the next assizes. At which they were brought before the judges Hale and Windham, and, after a long examination, they were offered their liberty, on condition of their giving bail for their good behaviour, and also for their appearance at the next assizes; which proposal they were unwilling to comply with, as an unreasonable demand from them who had given no just occasion for it, being neither convicted nor guilty of ill behaviour. They were re-committed to the same dungeon till another assize. In the mean time several of their friends were sent to bear them company in prison, in the like arbitrary manner, viz. John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, and Francis Ellington.

J. Whitehead being at Wellingborough, and waiting quietly till the public worship was ended, asked the priest, as he came out of the house, some questions about his doctrine and practice, to which he made no answer, but in contempt called him madman, and went away: the people generally staying, were soon convinced he was not mad; for his powerful preaching impressed different sentiments on their minds. Intelligence of this being carried to the priest, he challenged John to a dispute; but the issue mortified him more, because he missed his aim, which was to get some matter of complaint to the magistrates. He next wanted John to meet him before a persecuting justice to settle the dispute; but he avoided this snare, signifying to the priest that he must appoint some other place. He then sent him notice to meet him at a public lecture, which he accordingly did; and there being several other ministers, and many people present, he waited quietly till their service was over: then he proposed  
a question

a question to the preachers, which they refused to answer; and Andrews, who had challenged him to dispute, launched out into personal invectives against J. Whitehead, who was not at a loss to vindicate his character. The priests, seeing themselves not likely to compass their designs by these means, had recourse to their last argument; for Byfield, priest of Torrington, having laid violent hands on John, and dragged him out of the house, a warrant was procured to apprehend him as a vagrant, and he was carried before two justices, convened for that purpose. In contradiction to the charge, he insisted he was no vagrant, that he could prove his habitation and manner of living by one of his neighbours, a respectable man, if they would admit him to come in. Upon this Marmaduke Storr was called, who informed them of the place of John's residence, and that he had a wife and family, whom he maintained reputably.

Then they asked Marmaduke his name and place of abode, and what was his business in those parts. He gave them full satisfaction in these points: that his residence was in Holdernefs, and his occupation that of a grazier; that his business there was to be an assistant to his brother Joseph Storr, prisoner at Northampton; and that from thence he proposed to proceed into Staffordshire, to renew the expiring lease of his farm. After some consultation the justices dropped the pretence of vagrancy, and asked Marmaduke if he would confirm his testimony upon oath; finding he would not, they tendered them both the oath of abjuration. They answered, that they had sufficiently demonstrated their good affection to the commonwealth, that they were well known to be no papists, but that they could not swear for conscience-sake. They then required sureties for their good behaviour, and upon their refusal were committed to prison, whereby M. Storr was

was prevented from getting his lease renewed; so that his family were constrained to remove, and carry off the stock of his farm at a day's notice, to his great detriment. And these, as well as the former, were detained in prison till the ensuing assizes, in the month called July, 1655, when they were brought before Edw. Atkins, judge of assize, before whom they passed a long examination, for it cannot be properly termed a trial, there being nothing against them to found an indictment upon, nor any witness produced; an information only was exhibited by the clerk, that William Dewsbury came into the church of Wellingborough, and stood there with his hat on: and after the minister had done, he spoke these words, "the priests preach for hire, and my people love to have it so, and what will you do in the end thereof," with other railing words, which made disturbance among the people.

The Judge, finding the allegations against them too frivolous for his attention, expressed his displeasure at being troubled therewith; and though he conducted himself towards them with a degree of moderation, yet he recommitted them till the next assizes, upon their refusal to put in bail for their appearance\*.

During their imprisonment their friends were not suffered to visit them, but several who attempted it were taken up and sent out of town with a pass: about six months after their last examination, they were discharged by an order from Cromwell, after having suffered a grievous imprisonment, (the two first 15 months) without any just cause or legal process against them.

Tho. Stubbs was another who experienced the illegal severity of the magistrates of this county, about the same time; being concerned to exhort the

\* See the trial at large in Bessé's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 518.  
inhabitants

inhabitants of Daventry to repentance, he was sent to prison by a justice, of whom, when Thomas required "by what law he proceeded," he received for answer, "by the law that saith all *Quakers* must go to prison." On this ill-founded committal he was detained thirteen weeks, till the sessions, at which he was released, and then sent out of the county: returning soon after to a meeting at Itham, he was taken thence, and by two justices committed to bridewell as a vagrant, where he was cruelly whipped, and endured much hardship, being not suffered to purchase necessaries for his money.

These arbitrary proceedings incited E. Burrough, by letter, to apply to the Protector, wherein he reminded him of his vows in the day of his distress; and that he suffered oppression to be practised in his name, by unjust imprisonments, and persecutions of peaceable people; that he was to be accountable for the use he made of the power he was invested with. It doth not appear that his plain-dealing either drew any marks of resentment from the Protector, or any interposition of his authority, to put a stop to the persecution of his friends.

Amongst the malecontents at this time, John Lilburn was one of the foremost to oppose the usurpation of Cromwell. This man, originally a book-binder in London, ranked early with the assertors of civil and religious liberty, on the broadest base. In his efforts in this cause, the ardency of his zeal, and the inflexibility of his temper, rendered him obnoxious to punishment or prosecution, under the different successive government of this age. Cromwell, in defence of his own safety, thought it necessary to transgress the boundaries of law, and kept him in prison through the remainder of his government; during which time, being moved from one prison to another, he was at length confined in Dover Castle. His long confinement had  
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changed the temper of his mind, from an active and bustling, to a serious and contemplative cast, and preventing him from conversing in the busy scenes of life, furnished him with opportunity to be more conversant with himself. In his confinement here, becoming acquainted with Luke Howard, an inhabitant of Dover, and conversing with him on religious subjects, Luke gave him such convincing reasons for his profession, as gained Lilburn's assent, and brought him over to his sentiments and profession; in part at least, as appears by the letters that passed between him and his wife at this time.

After he had lain some time in Dover Castle, Cromwell seemed inclined to release him, on condition of signing an engagement not to draw a sword against his government; but being not yet so far convinced, as to believe the use of the sword was unlawful, nor perfectly approving of that point of self-denial, he refused to purchase his liberty on this condition. However, he became in process of time so fully convinced of the unlawfulness of war under the Gospel, as to make the following publication of his sentiments: That being brought to believe in his inward teacher, which shall never more be removed into a corner, by the teachings thereof, he was taught to die to sin, and to the very occasion and real grounds of outward wars; and was therefore firmly persuaded that he should never thereafter use the temporal sword, nor join with them that did. This paper was dated from Dover Castle, the 4th of 3d month, 1655.

He was continued a prisoner here till Cromwell's death, and then being liberated, he continued steadfast in the profession of those doctrines he had received as truth, and died in London, Anno 1660.

In this year, Anne Downer, of London, being one of the earliest sufferers in that city, a maiden of about thirty years of age, and the first person of her sex

sex who preached publicly there, for some expressions against the preacher at Stepney, was committed to the house of correction, and detained there ten weeks; and, because she refused to work, was beaten with a rope's end. She became exceedingly serviceable in religious society, fitly qualified to exhort others, and remarkably exemplary in her Christian care over persons in sickness and poverty.

Miles Halhead and Tho. Salthouse, travelling from their respective habitations in Lancashire and Westmoreland, with intention to visit their friends imprisoned in Cornwall, in their passage through Devonshire were apprehended, and after 14 days close confinement at Exeter, were, by warrant from Col. Coplestone, high sheriff, ordered to be passed as vagrants from thence to their own dwellings. On the way, between Taunton and Bridgewater, the officer who had them in charge was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, which disabled him from proceeding. They returned to Taunton, and informed a justice of peace of the casualty. He thereupon suspended the further execution of the warrant, and set them at liberty, wishing the Lord might be with them.

They went to Bristol, and returned to Plymouth, where they had several meetings; one of which was in the garden of John Harris, his house being too small to contain the numerous auditory: their powerful ministry reached the consciences of many, and was generally well accepted. At the close of the meeting, Geo. Brooks, chaplain of the Nightingale frigate, a man of profligate character, spoke to the people in commendation of what had been delivered. T. Salthouse, suspecting his sincerity, remarked that he had spoken many good words, but asked him, "Whether his life corresponded with his expressions? For that it was he who hath the witness in himself, that can set to his seal that God is true." The priest being irritated at this reproof,

reproof, two days after procured a warrant from the mayor, by which they were taken from a meeting at the house of Robert Cary, and imprisoned in Guildhall; next day they were brought before the mayor, magistrates, and common council, who ordered the doors to be shut during their examination, which lasted three hours; after which they remained in custody several days, while the magistrates, who had determined to send them to the county gaol, were deliberating how to form a pretence for their commitment. At first they charged them with denying the Trinity, of which they fully cleared themselves. Then they tendered them the oath of abjuration, but the proclamation enforcing that oath, giving no authority to imprison any for their refusal, they omitted proceeding thereupon. At length they made out their mittimus, grounded on reasons either false, frivolous, or absurd.

After six weeks imprisonment in Exeter gaol, they were indicted at the sessions for a "breach of the ordinance against duels," and particularly for "divers disgraceful words and gestures against George Brooks, clerk," &c.

Witnesses were provided to prove the indictment, one of whom, on his way, was heard to say, "I am going to Exeter to swear against the Quakers, and if swearing will do it, I'll make them suffer soundly." But the court did not chuse to bring the matter to a hearing; for though they pleaded, and desired a trial, their plea was refused, and no trial granted: but the oath of abjuration was tendered them in court, as a pretext to prolong their imprisonment. In the end, they were fined 5*l.* each, and committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behaviour.

Pursuant to this sentence, they were removed from the county gaol to Bridewell, and a guard of soldiers placed over them, with strict orders "to detain

tain all that should come to visit them, especially if they were suspected to be Quakers." They lay on the ground, in a close dark room, many days, and were continued near seven months under such cruel usage, as had the aspect of a design to destroy them: their persecutors exerted their endeavours to prevent others from bringing them the common necessaries of life, and imprisoned several of those who came to see and relieve them. This malice of their enemies rendered the charity of their friends the more distinguished, who frequently hazarded the loss of their own lives, to supply the wants of the prisoners.

In the same year Margaret Kellam, an innocent woman, of a tender constitution, good education, and considerable property, was treated with great cruelty, without any just occasion administered on her part. On the 19th of December she went to the house of Peter Ceely, mayor of Plymouth, and told him she had a word from the Lord to him: he bid her come in, heard her, and confessed that "what she said was very good and true;" yet was so displeased with this truth, that he sent her to prison, detained her there about a week, when, at the intercession of her friends, she had liberty to return home. But on the 4th of the next month, about four o'clock in the morning, a constable and serjeant came to her chamber, broke open the door, and refusing to shew their warrant, took her away by violence; tied a rope about her, bound her arms behind her, threw her across a horse, and tied her feet under its belly, and in this manner carried her ten miles. Then loosening the cords, they told her they had a warrant to carry her to Exeter gaol. There she lay till the quarter sessions, when endeavours were used to get an indictment drawn up against her; but the clerk and his coadjutors, though desirous to do it, finding nothing in her conduct whereon to ground

an indictment, she was released by the sheriff, after an imprisonment of about two months.

About the end of the year 1655, William Baily, a Baptist teacher at Pool, was, with others, convinced by the ministry of G. Fox, from London, and entering into society with the Friends, became afterwards an eminent minister. G. Fox continued his journey through Devonshire, into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, being accompanied by William Salt of London, and Edw. Pyott of Bristol, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of Christ the light.

This paper coming into the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and justice of the peace, when G. Fox and his companions came to Ives, in Cornwall, while George was taking a walk by the sea side, his companions were taken into custody, and brought before Ceely, to whose house George soon followed, where the above-mentioned paper being produced, he was asked whether he would own it, and he said, *yes*. Then he tendered him the oath of abjuration; upon which he drew from his pocket the answer to the said oath, which had been given to the Protector; nevertheless, they were all three sent to prison, under a guard of horse.

Their guard was a company of unfeeling mortals, by some of whom they were but rudely treated, and particularly by their captain, whose name was Keat. By these men they were guarded to Launceston, and there delivered to the keeper of the common gaol, who demanded of them seven shillings a week for their horses, and the same for their own diet each. Being the first of this people seen in that neighbourhood, they excited curiosity in the people, who, when they heard them address every single man, of every degree, with the plain appellation of *thou* and *thee*; when they saw them decline the compliment of the hat and knee to the great; there were some  
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so envious or ignorant, as to expect, that at the assizes they would be condemned to death, if they declined these marks of honour to the bench; yet there were others, who, from different parts of the country, came to visit and discourse with them; many of whom were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

After nine weeks confinement the assizes came on, at which they were brought to their trial, before Chief Justice Glyn. They were guarded to the court by a band of soldiers and the sheriff's men, and so great was the curiosity of the people to see this new kind of prisoners, that the doors and windows were filled with spectators, as if to see some strange sight. The judge was so highly offended at their appearing before him with their hats on, that, when they made the reasonable demand of justice for their imprisonment for nine weeks wrongfully, being taken up without just cause, in their journey, by Ceely, he refused to hear them. Instead of granting their demand, an indictment was read, conceived in such terms, that at first G. Fox thought it had been against some thieves; for it asserted, that "they came by force and arms, and in an hostile, manner, into court," whereas they were brought thither as prisoners, which made them say, "it was all false," and there seems to have been no judicial procedure upon it. Then Ceely falsely charging G. Fox with making him a treasonable proposal of raising forty thousand men, to bring in K. Charles, George desired their mittimus might be read in the face of the country, that the real causes of his commitment might appear. This request the judge repeatedly refused to comply with. At their next appearance, the prisoners repeated their request to have their mittimus read, and the people appearing desirous to hear it, one of his fellow prisoners, having a copy, was permitted to read it aloud. Which being done,

G. Fox remarked upon it, that if he would have given surety, he might still have been at liberty to carry on the design (if he had any) which Ceely charged him with; at the same time appealing to the court, whether Ceely had not made himself a party in the treason, by omitting it in the mittimus, desiring him to go out of the country, and never charging him with pretended treason, nor making any discovery thereof till now.

The judge clearly perceiving, that in his accusation, Ceely, instead of ensnaring G. Fox, had ensnared himself, let that business fall. Ceely, finding this intended snare broken, accused him, that he struck him such a blow as he never had in his life; seeming thus to sport with justice, truth, and conscience, in idle endeavours to criminate innocence with groundless absurdities; for this blow, he alledged himself to have received from G. Fox, proved to be nothing more than a merited reproof, for an hypocritical complimenting of him, while he was suffering under his malicious imprisonment.

In fine, no sufficient grounds of legal crimination appearing, the judge, instead of discharging them, ordered them to be taken away; and in their absence fined them twenty marks a piece, for coming into the court, with their hats on, and ordered them to be detained in prison till their fines were paid.

Being thus fixed in prison, upon such a commitment, that there was little probability of their being speedily released, they thought it necessary to discontinue the weekly payment of seven shillings a piece for their diet for themselves, and as much for their horses, which the jailer had hitherto, in a manner, extorted from them. This defalcation of his oppressive gains, stirred up the temper of this jailer\*.

He

\* The case of the jailer, who had so barbarously used them, is observable. He before lay under the infamous character of a thief,

He turned them down into a dismal dungeon, called Doomsdale, usually appropriated to the reception of atrocious criminals, after their condemnation. This place was noisome beyond description, it being remarked, that most who were confined there lost their health thereby. They were kept a considerable time before he would let them cleanse it, or suffer them to have any victuals but what they got in through the grate, and even this with difficulty.

This treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when, upon representing their case to the justices, they obtained an order "for opening the door of Doomsdale, and that they might be suffered to clean it, and buy their provisions in the town;" having obtained this liberty, they sent for Anne Downer, a young woman of London, to come down to buy and dress their meat; who became a serviceable assistant to them during their confinement.

While G. Fox lay in prison, one of his friends offered himself to O. Cromwell to lie in prison in George's stead; to which proposal Cromwell answered, "he could not grant it, being contrary to law;" and turning to some of his council, queried, "Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the same condition?" Upon this, and other applications on their behalf, he sent an order to the governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine into the circumstances of their case: on which occasion Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, remarked to him, that "he could not give G. Fox a better opportunity for spreading his principles in Cornwall, than

thief, and was said to have been burnt in the hand, and in the next year after their release he was turned out of his place, and for some crime cast into jail himself, where, for his unruly behaviour, he was by the succeeding jailer put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to remember how he had used those good men in that nasty dungeon. At length he died in prison, *poor and miserable*.



by imprisoning him there." The truth of which observation the sequel confirmed, for he was visited by many persons of repute, of whom several embraced his doctrine; one of whom was Thomas Lower, a physician of London, who thenceforward entered into community with them. The whole time of their imprisonment was about thirty weeks, when they were discharged by an order from Major General Desborough.

Their imprisonment was (through the ordering of Providence) conducive to the propagating their principles extensively through the western counties; not only those who came to visit them in prison, and were convinced by G. Fox there; but many others, by the ministry of other friends, who being incited by brotherly sympathy to come from different parts to visit them, and other friends in prison here and in the neighbouring counties, were at the same time engaged to exercise their ministerial labours as they passed along. Their success alarmed the priests and professors, who instigated the magistrates to interpose their authority to check their progress. For which purpose the justices in Devonshire made an order of sessions to apprehend, as vagrants, all Quakers travelling without a pass. They also appointed watchmen in the streets and highways, under pretence of taking up suspicious persons, principally with intention to take up these friends on their journey, and to put a stop to their preaching; in consequence whereof, in the summer of this year, about twenty persons, male and female, were committed to Exeter gaol. At the assizes the men were fined and confined, in like manner as G. Fox had been, for appearing with their hats on; and the women were remanded to prison till they should find sureties for their good behaviour. They were lodged among the felons, and lay generally upon straw, by reason of which, and the filth of the place,  
many

many of them fell sick, and one of them (Jane Ingram) died there.

These magistrates and officers, their watchmen, took up not only strangers, but their own neighbours, travelling about their lawful occasions. Of those, some were cruelly beaten, and others whipped for vagrants, though men of considerable property, and not above four or five miles from their habitations. Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of peace for forty years, and consequently well known for what he really *was*, they cast into prison for a jesuit.

About this time the Protector thought it necessary to convoke a parliament, to sit on the 17th of September, better adapted to answer his purpose than those he had before summoned.

S. Fisher, of Lydd, from an impulse on his mind, was present at the opening of this sessions, and heard the Protector's speech, in which he asserted, "that he knew not one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England." S. Fisher, taking a convenient stand, said, that he had a word to speak from the Lord to the Protector, the parliament, and the people; but had not proceeded far, till he was interrupted by an exclamation, "a Quaker, a Quaker, keep him down, he shall not speak." This exclamation is said not to have arisen from the Protector or members, who discovered no disinclination to hear him, but from two angry justices and some others, by whom, being interrupted, the Protector arose, and the house broke up.

Fisher, by this interruption, being deprived of the opportunity of delivering his message, (to which undertaking apprehending himself unequal, he had desired to be excused from it, with fasting, tears, and supplications) took the only method left him to ease his mind of its burden, by publishing in print the substance of what he intended to have spoken.

being a zealous reprehension of the hypocrisy of those, who, under a shew of godliness, made long prayers, and kept frequent fasts; yet at the same time lived in pomp and luxury, and persecuted those who were really pious and conscientious. With a caution to the Protector, that, "unless he took away the wicked from before him, and all flatterers and false accusers, his throne would never be established in righteousness."

This parliament passed an act against vagrants, under which description they comprehended all who were gone from home, and could not give a satisfactory account of their business.

If the Quakers found themselves before exposed to tyrannical punishment, and causeless deprivation of liberty, this combination of the legislative with the executive power, rivetted their chains, as it deprived them of all hope of redress, and exempted their persecutors from all fear of controul.

Henry Clifton, for only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeshire, was carried before a justice, and after some reproach and derision, sent by him to another justice four miles distant; by whom, without any reasonable cause, he was sent to prison, where he lay in the dungeon, among condemned felons, a considerable time. Ann Blakely, for openly testifying against the corruption of the times, was also imprisoned at Cambridge, and detained there six months; during her imprisonment, two of her friends, R. Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, went to pay her a sympathetic visit, and were for this, and no other cause, cast into prison. After which, R. Hubberthorn, for not departing the town at the mayor's command, was also sent to the house of correction for three months.

Thomas Curtis of Reading, woollen-draper, coming to Plymouth upon affairs of trade, went from thence, accompanied by John Martindale, to West-Alvington:

Alvington : being in bed at a friend's house, a constable with attendants came with a warrant at midnight, and next day carried them before two justices, who sent them to Exeter gaol; notwithstanding, upon their examination they made it appear, that they were travelling upon lawful business. They were brought before the judge at the ensuing assizes, where nothing was laid to their charge; but the judge, taking occasion from their hats, fined them 40*l.* each for contempt; for nonpayment of which they were kept prisoners above a year. During his imprisonment, Martindale, having obtained leave of the jailer to visit a friend at Ilchester, went to meeting at Cullington, where he, Humphry Sprague, and Thomas Dyer, lodged at a friend's house. In the evening two constables came, and required the strangers to go with them, which (they having no warrant) was refused. Next morning they came with a warrant, and carried them before the justices at the quarter sessions at Honiton, to whom they gave account of their places of abode, being one of them but two miles from home, and another not above five: however, the justices sentenced them as vagrants, to be whipt in the market-place, and sent with a pass from tything to tything, which was accordingly done.

G. Whitehead, after his release from Edmundsbury jail, took the opportunity of paying a religious visit to his friends in London, which was very acceptable, and conducive to the conviction of several. His stay in the city was not long, till he thought it his duty to go back into Essex and Suffolk, notwithstanding his late suffering there.

Having travelled through Essex and part of Suffolk, he appointed a meeting at Nayland, at a friend's house, which being too small for the purpose, the meeting was held in the orchard, which many Friends from Essex and Suffolk, as well as others, attended. While G. Whitehead was in the course

of his testimony, a person, under the character of a gentleman, rushed into the meeting with a rude company, pulled him down, and some of them, with the constable, took him to Affington, before John Gurden, who, as soon as he appeared before him, began to threaten him. From a law-book he read an abstract of a statute against vagrants, &c. with the penalty appointed for them; and although the prisoner came not under any of these descriptions, yet he was informed by this justice, that "they had ordered him to be whipped at Nayland, and if he came again into the country, he should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; and if he came a third time, he should be hanged." To which menace George replied, "I am no such person as thou hast mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave, and dost not know how soon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and disappoint thee of thy evil designs against me: however, I fear not thy threats: if the Lord, whom I serve, require my return into these parts, I must obey him."

The warrant for his punishment being signed and sealed by John and Robert Gurden, father and son, two justices, was delivered to the constable, with a charge from R. Gurden, to see it executed upon him to purpose, at his peril.

The warrant was the next day put in execution. The constable procured a man to inflict the punishment, who laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence, whereby G. Whitehead's back and breast were grievously cut, and his blood shed in abundance. Unrestrained by the constable, the man kept on whipping, till some of the spectators, who were so affected at their cruelty as to drop tears, cried out to stop him; whilst the victim of the justices' vengeance was so supported in patience, so filled with inward peace, that his spirit was raised, and his mouth opened to sing aloud in praise to that divine being,

being, who had counted him worthy to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.

When the hand of the executioner was stayed by the cry of the people, G. Whitehead stood undressed, with his wounds and stripes fresh upon him, and addressed the spectators, informing them, it was a proof of a minister of Christ patiently to endure affliction, according to the Apostle's testimony, 2 Cor. vi. "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults."

After this he mounted his horse, and was attended by the officers with the warrant and pass to Sudbury, Clare, Haverill, and to the edge of Cambridge-shire. When he came to the last place, the constable, being employed in his necessary labour, looking upon the young man, then on the warrant, with surprise, and considering it an unreasonable burden imposed upon him by the caprice of two distant justices, delivered the warrant and pass to G. W. to convey himself whither he might think best.

Being set at liberty, he returned (notwithstanding the justices menaces) to finish his service in those parts. The curiosity of the people being awakened by his late sufferings, caused a great resort to the meetings where he was, to see and hear the young man who was so cruelly whipped at Nayland.

Many were tenderly affected towards him, and convinced of the truth of the doctrine he delivered.

Humphry Smith and Samuel Curtis riding together near Axminster, were stopped, and carried before a justice; who, upon consultation with a priest, ordered them to be whipt as vagrants, burnt their books and papers, took their money from them, and sent them away with a pass.

Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds, of Totness, was stopped on the road by a drunken fellow, who took away her horse: she complained to a Justice,

tice, being then about ten miles from home; but having no pass, the justice sent her to Exeter gaol, ordered her horse to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation being in the direct road to Exeter, they took her by another road, six miles about, to prevent their injustice being exposed amongst her neighbours.

Geo. Bewley, John Ellis, and Humphry Sprague, after a meeting at Bridport in Dorsetshire, were, by the mayor and bailiffs, caused to be whipt for vagabonds, and sent away with passes: G. Bewley desired liberty to go to the inn for his horse and clothes, but was not suffered. When he had gone some miles from the town, the officer who conducted him gave him his liberty; whereupon he returned for his horse and clothes, and the bailiffs caused him to be whipped again, and sent away without them: he returned, went to his inn, paid his host, and was riding out of town, when the bailiffs ordered him to be taken and whipped the third time!! They then suffered him to depart with his horse and clothes.

Under this parliament, J. Naylor suffered punishment by a most rigorous sentence, unmercifully executed: and though that extravagant conduct, which subjected him to those sufferings, was disclaimed and censured by the generality of those of his own persuasion; yet as some authors, Hume in particular, instance his case, almost singly, as a specimen of Quakerism, it seems proper to introduce a narrative of the principal occurrences of his life, whereby we may be enabled to form a judgment, how far his miscarriage ought to be imputed to the Quakers, or their principles.

J. Naylor was born near Wakefield; his father was a husbandman of good repute, having a competent estate. About the age of twenty-two he married, and continued his residence near Wakefield,  
till

till the civil war broke out in 1641. He then entered into the army, in which he continued eight or nine years, first under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-master under major general Lambert, till being disabled by sickness, he returned home about 1649. He was in society with the Independents till 1651, when, being convinced by the ministry of G. Fox, he joined in community with the Quakers, and received an excellent gift in the ministry. He was so preserved in circumspection of life, as to confirm his doctrine by his example, and was instrumental in turning many from darkness to light.

During the space of three years, he continued in near unity with Friends, and in just estimation amongst them, for his works sake. In the latter end of 1654, or beginning of 1655, he came to London, where he found a meeting already gathered, through the ministry of E. Burrough and F. Howgill: there he preached in a manner so affecting, that he captivated several of the more inexperienced part of the auditory, who held his person in admiration, and preferred him much above his fellow-labourers. Of these were some forward females, who carried their impertinence so far, as to oppose F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly in their ministry, to the great disturbance of the meetings; for which behaviour, they met with merited reproof from these discerning men, but could not bear the rebuke with patience; for Martha Simmons, with another woman, carried their complaints to J. Naylor, flattering themselves, that he would not hesitate to give his opinion in their favour; but herein their hope deceived them; for he thought it his duty to discourage their complaints, as tending to sow discord between brethren. This disappointment proving a trial too severe for Martha's impatient spirit to sustain, she immediately vented her passion in lamentation and weeping. These passionate expressions



sions of sorrow moved Naylor's pity, and left an impression on his mind, which resulted into a deep melancholy, under the effect whereof he became bewildered in his understanding; and estranged from his best friends, who were concerned to admonish him of his danger; being exalted, in spiritual pride, to a great degree.

G. Fox being released from Launceston in the summer of 1656, on the night of his arrival at Exeter, visited his friends in prison there, where J. Naylor was also confined, and particularly admonished him of the delusion he and his partisans were fallen into; but James slighted this admonition: for his ranting adherents in their letters to him, at this time, addressed him with appellations not fit to be attributed to any mortal: and three of these silly women, in this prison, kneeled before him, and kissed his feet. After his release, riding into Bristol, one Tho. Woodcock went before him bareheaded, a woman led his horse; and the three women before mentioned, spread their handkerchiefs and scarfs before him, singing in imitation of the Hosanna before our Saviour riding into Jerusalem. Here they were carried before the magistrates, by whom being examined, they were committed to prison. Upon search, some of those extravagant letters were found in his possession, with others of a different strain from his former friends; the former were divulged to aggravate his offence, the latter, not answering any purpose of his *prosecutors*, seem to have been suppressed. Not long after, he was transmitted to London to be examined by the parliament, who judged these senseless enormities of a few deluded individuals, of sufficient consequence to engage their attention for ten days! Debates ran high, many of the members being averse to the severity of the measures taken against him; but the majority (to whom J. Naylor's zeal in his writings and discourses, re-  
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prehending pretences to religion, deformed by immorality in life) had given offence, actuated by vindictive motives, to gratify private hatred under the colour of public justice, on the 17th of December passed the following dreadful sentence upon him,

“ That J. Naylor be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next, and be whipped by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London, and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one, on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes, and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B, and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol; and be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipped the next market day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison, in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard, till he shall be released by parliament, and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour.”

Many (not Quakers) esteeming the sentence exorbitantly severe, for a crime proceeding more from a disordered understanding than a malignant intention, solicited the parliament in his favour, but to no purpose: for after the sentence was passed, the Speaker was authorized to issue his warrants to the sheriffs of London, Middlesex, and Bristol, and the keeper of Bridewell, to see the judgment put in execution.

The very next day, viz. on the 18th of December, the first part was severely executed. This cruel torture he endured with patience, to the astonishment of the spectators. The 20th of the same month, was the day appointed for the execution of the second part of his sentence; but he was reduced to  
such

such weakness by the execution of the first part, that many persons of note, compassionating his condition, interposed in his favour by petition to the parliament, and obtained a respite of one week, during which interval a second petition was presented to the house by about a hundred persons; but the same temper, which had dictated the sentence, resisting all sollicitation for mitigating it, obliged these petitioners to endeavour, by an address to the Protector, to obtain from him that favour, they could not from the parliament; whereupon he wrote a letter to the house, which occasioned some debate, but no resolution in favour of the prisoner. Finding their interposition hitherto ineffectual, the petitioners presented a second address to the protector; but, it is said, the public preachers, by their influence, prevented its effect. However, it is probable that these petitions of persons unconnected with the offender in religious community, conveyed a plain indication to his adversaries, that their severity was not generally approved. Wherefore five of the noted public preachers, Caryl, Nye, Manton, Griffith, and Reynolds, by order of the parliament, (as it was said) visited J. Naylor in prison to treat with him concerning those offences for which he was detained, and bring him to a sense thereof, as if to varnish over the deformity of their proceedings, with a colour of intending only the reformation of the man: for these men would admit no friend of his, nor any other person into the room, though requested, upon which Naylor insisted that what passed should be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailer, to which (in order to draw such answers from him as they wanted) they consented. The reason of his making this demand, was an apprehension he had of an insidious design, as they would suffer no impartial person to be present at the conference, and the result seems to manifest his fears not groundless; for after  
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some discourse, perceiving they were endeavouring to wrest words from him, to pervert to his crimination, in order to furnish some colour of justification to the public, he remarked to them, "They had soon forgot the work of the bishops, who were now treading the same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent." Whereupon they rose up in a rage, burned what they had written, and left him to undergo his unmerciful sentence.

At the expiration of his respite, on the 27th of December, the second part of his sentence was executed. The spectators, who were numerous, behaved with decency, seeming generally affected at his unchristian treatment. He was afterwards sent to Bristol, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge up High-street, and to the middle of Broad-street, all which he bore with astonishing patience: thence he was sent the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, pursuant to his sentence, and was there detained a prisoner about two years. After his release he published his recantation.

Sundry other papers which he published during his imprisonment, and after, confirm the sincerity of his repentance; and so deeply was the sense of his fall imprest on his mind, that during the remainder of his life he was a man of great self-denial, and very diffident of himself. Taking his departure from London in the fall of 1660, in order to go home to his family at Wakefield, he travelled on foot as far as Huntingdon, and was observed by a friend as he passed through the town in such a solemn frame, as bespoke him a man redeemed from the earth. He went not many miles from Huntingdon, before he was taken ill; being reported to have been robbed and left bound; and being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, he was removed to a friend's house at Holm, not far from King's Rippon.

pon, where he was attended by Tho. Parnell, a physician of that town, and not long after departed this life in peace, about the ninth month (November), 1660, in the forty-fourth year of his age.\*

G. Fox, coming up from Exeter, after his release from Launceston jail, by Bristol to London, about this time, ever vigilant "to guard the people he had been made instrumental to gather into a society," against every danger, wrote them a short caution on this occasion, to beware of that disposition which hath a life in contention; to forbear mutual aggravation, which breeds confusion, but to let their moderation, temperance, and patience, appear to all men. His care was exercised towards all, the weak especially, to whom I apprehend this caution was addressed, for except a few weak members, the body at large took no part with J. Naylor.

This year (1656) died John Camm, of Camm's-gill, in the Barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland, who, se-

\* The following expressions, uttered by him about two hours before his departure, evidence the peaceful and even tenor of his mind at this solemn period.

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hopes to enjoy its own to the end: its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptation: as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God: its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life: it is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone, being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

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parating from the national worship of that time, with several others, formed a select assembly at Firbank chapel and other places, amongst whom he sometimes officiated as a minister. Here it was that he, with the greater part of that congregation in the meeting which G. Fox had there in 1652, was happily prevailed with to turn the attention of his mind more closely to the manifestation of the spirit, which he recommended, as a certain guide from darkness to light.

He was amongst the first of those preachers who travelled into different parts of the nation to propagate the gospel, in which service he was careful not to make the gospel chargeable, having an estate of his own. His first journey was through the northern counties to the borders of Scotland; his next, in company with F. Howgill, to visit O. Cromwell, on behalf of their brethren under persecution. Afterwards he travelled in company with E. Burrough, through the middle of the nation to London, where they met with their countrymen J. Audland, F. Howgill, R. Hubberthorn, and others from different parts. From thence J. Audland and he became fellow-travellers to Bristol, where their united ministry was effectual to the reformation of many hundreds, as before related. But the fatigue of his travels and labour proved too great for his bodily ability to sustain without feeling the natural effects thereof, his constitution, naturally weak, being thereby reduced into a gradual decline.

The morning he departed this life, he called his wife and family, to whom he imparted solid instruction, to love and serve the Lord, and to walk circumspectly in his fear, adding, that "his glass was run; the time of his departure was come; he was to enter into everlasting joy and rest:" charging them all "to be patient and content in his removal;" presently after fainting, he seemed to pass quietly away; where-

whereupon some about him, weeping aloud,—as one awakened out of sleep, he expressed himself again in these words: “My dear hearts, you have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was at sweet rest: you should not so passionately sorrow for my departure: this house of clay must go to its place, but this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with him for ever, where we shall meet with everlasting joy.” So again taking his leave of them, and repeating his charge, he lay down and died, in the fifty-second year of his age.

G. Fox, being near to London, seeing a concourse of people, found they were gathered to see the Protector pass by; and as the persecution of friends continued unabated, he rode up to the coach side to speak with him thereupon, continuing in discourse with him on the subject till they came to James’s park gate, and at parting, Cromwell desired him to come to him at Whitehall: he accordingly went thither, accompanied by Edw. Pyott, where they opened the subject more fully.

About the same time E. Burrough also, finding his former applications ineffectual, wrote several epistles to Oliver on the same subject: but, like former applications, they were received with apparent cordiality, yet persecutions were carried on without redress. Cromwell’s attention about this period was engrossed by a subject much nearer his heart than redressing the grievances of this society: parliament, entirely devoted to his interest, had complimented him with the offer of the crown.

After the dissolution of the parliament, applications, by personal interviews and by letters, were made to the Protector by divers of this people in favour of their persecuted brethren, laying before him a full narrative of their grievances, which, when he not only pleaded ignorance of, but pretended not to believe, two of them, T. Aldam and A. Pearson, undertook

undertook the laborious task of visiting all or most of the jails in England, to prove by authentic documents the truth of their representations; which having done, they laid the same before O. Cromwell; who declined to comply with their request in behalf of the sufferers, which was to give order for their release. It was upon this occasion that T. Aldam, taking off his cap, tore it, saying, "so shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

The public preachers at this time, both to palliate and promote persecution against the Quakers, took pains to represent them as a people involved in error; and particularly to Cromwell and others in authority: for which reason E. Burrough, in a letter to the Protector, proposed that these teachers might be directed to state their objections to the Quakers doctrines in plain terms; and that by divine permission they should receive a suitable answer. But we have no account that this proposal was acceded to by Oliver or his teachers: the latter found it easier to rail than to reason; and their hatred of this people impelled them to endeavour the suppressing of them by rigour, rather than convincing them by argument. Persecution continued unabated till Cromwell's death, which happened on the 3d of September this year.

The same compassion for the hardships sustained by their suffering brethren, which had animated several of this community to make applications to the late Protector for redress of their grievances, produced similar applications to his son and successor Richard Cromwell. Very soon after his advancement to the Protectorate, E. Burrough communicated, by a letter to him, a relation of the sufferings of friends: but this remonstrance met with the same disregard as former applications; the persecution of the Quakers received no check in consequence thereof, that I can find. But, as in this interval between  
Cromwell's



Cromwell's death and the restoration of Charles II. through the struggles of the contending parties, the nation was almost in a state of anarchy; gross abuses of the licentious rabble, instigated by the calumnies of their priests against the Quakers, were added to the severity of persecuting magistrates, who, not confining themselves to the abuse of individuals, began to attack these devoted people in their public assemblies, of which we have many instances in this and the succeeding year.\*

Many of these abuses being committed on the first day of the week, with impunity, under a government, and by a people who pretended to make it a point to observe it in many cases beyond the strictness which the mosaical law appointed for observing the seventh. The magistrates and teachers not only let such riots pass unpunished and uncensured, but too often abetted them, and at the same time confined several of these people as sabbath-breakers, for riding a few miles to a religious meeting on the first day of the week.

In this year the nation was in great commotion. Party animosities revived with additional heat. The officers of the army, the republicans, and royalists, waiting the favourable season to promote a revolution in support of their own power. G. Fox solicitously concerned for the preservation of his friends, and fearful lest any unexperienced people, who might sometimes come amongst them, should be drawn into associations with one or other of these parties, wrote an epistle of caution, wherein he admonishes his friends to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven, to let the innocence of their lives and their conduct

\* Vide Bessé's Sufferings of the Quakers, 2 vols. folio.

manifest

manifest to all the spirit of the gospel of Christ: and he thus remarks: "All that pretend to fight for Christ are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. All that pretend to fight for the gospel are deceived; for the gospel is the power of God unto salvation," "and the distinguishing characteristic thereof is peace on earth and good will towards men;" (he seems to have the Millenarians in view, who had brought themselves to a belief, that the time was come to erect a fifth monarchy, or the reign of Jesus Christ upon earth, and that they were obliged in conscience to use their endeavours to promote it, even by force.)

Afterwards a printed account of their sufferings was presented to parliament, exhibiting a relation of above 140 then in prison, and of 1900 who had suffered in the last six years, 21 of whom had died in prison, by hardship or by violent abuses.

A printed paper was afterwards presented to the parliament, subscribed by 164 of this people, wherein (referring to the account of their sufferings before presented) they offer themselves freely to lie in prison instead of such of their brethren as were under confinement, and might be in danger of losing their lives from the extremity of their imprisonment, as several of their brethren had done.

Commotions still continued in the nation: and Geo. Booth, in Cheshire, rising in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the Quakers to take up arms, offering considerable commands to some of them: but they esteeming war inconsistent with christianity; the prospect of worldly advancement had no place with them to turn them aside from the undeviating pursuit of a point, in their view, of higher importance; the endeavouring to secure to themselves admission into that kingdom, which is higher than all the kingdoms of this world. Yet some unsettled persons who at times seemed to  
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associate with them, appearing inclined to comply with these proposals, and take up arms under General Lambert, G. Fox found it his duty, by an epistle to caution them against it, and his concern for their preservation had the desired effect.

E. Burrough wrote to the successive governors of the nation, and in sundry letters was concerned to tell them (particularly in one to the parliament then sitting) that if they desisted not from persecuting the innocent, their power would be cut short, which the event proved to be a true prediction.

During this time of anarchy, the meetings of this people being frequently disturbed by the populace, as before remarked; and when General Monk marched up to London, some of the soldiers under his command having been guilty of such disturbance, a complaint was made to the general, which met with better success than similar applications to those in authority before had generally done, as it produced the following order.

*“ St. James’s, March 9th, 1659.*

“ I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

GEORGE MONK.”

Besides the personal injuries they suffered, they were also exposed to great spoil in their property, by unreasonable fines and distrains on divers accounts, especially for their refusal to pay tithes, which the present preachers (notwithstanding their representing them as a relief of Judaism, when in the possession of the Episcopalians) being gotten into the possession of, were as rigorous in their exaction as their predecessors.

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To record all their sufferings for their testimony against the propriety of these demands under the christian dispensation would fill many volumes: sufficient may be seen in Joseph Besse's history of them.

Though this people are single in their opposition against the legality of tithes under the gospel, yet many others before them, and many cotemporary with those of the first generation, looked upon this relict of Judaism to be abolished with the law which appointed them. That in the pure ages of the church they were neither paid nor demanded. That they were established among the corruptions introduced in the darkness of a declining age, and wrested from the people to the sole use of the clergy, and were by many of that age esteemed a relict of popery. When the dissenting teachers, by the revolutions of the state, became of the establishment, and succeeded to the possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Episcopalians, they were as tenacious of the power, privileges, and incomes of the sacerdotal office, and as oppressive in exacting them from those, who from a conscientious scruple withheld them, as those that went before, proving that priestcraft, under every name or profession, is the same.

Other denominations, to evade suffering, gave up the contest; but the Quakers still maintain their testimony in this case for primitive purity, and therefore rather choose to suffer some loss of property than violate their consciences by actively upholding a practice which they esteem to be virtually forbidden by Christ.

Being now advanced to a period, wherein a thorough revolution in the government of the nation took place, by the restoration of Charles II. and having confined the narrative to England, as the principal scene of action, it seems a proper time to relate the steps taken by members of this society to

propagate their doctrines, and the reception they met with in other parts.

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CHAP. III.

W A L E S.

**I**N the year 1653, while G. Fox and his fellow-labourers were employing their ministerial labours in the northern parts of England, Morgan Floyd, priest of Wrexham, in Denbighshire, sent two of his congregation into the north, to make enquiry concerning this new sect; who, upon conferring with them, were so affected with their discourse and ministry, that they were both convinced of their principles, abode with them some time, and then returned. One of them, named John Ap-John, some time after received a gift in the ministry, and continued a serviceable member of the society, but a sharer with his brethren in the tribulations of that day.

For in 1655, being in the public worship-house at Swansea, after the preacher had ended his sermon, he asked him, whether he was a minister of Christ? this question gave great offence both to the priest to whom it was addressed, and another who was present; this latter instantly seized John by the collar, and without suffering him to speak another word, dragged him out and delivered him to a constable, who confined him that night in a close dark prison. Next day he was brought before the magistrates, desiring "to have him whipped, that the devil might come out of him:" and as often as he attempted to speak, one or other of the priests would strike him  
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and stop his mouth with their hands. At length he was sent to prison under a general charge of misbehaviour, no particular cause of imprisonment being specified in the mittimus.

In 1654, Thomas Holmes travelled into Wales, being reputed to be the first minister among the Quakers who preached in that principality; of his service I do not meet with very particular accounts, yet there is reason to believe it was effectual to the conviction of several, as in 1656, from seven persons of this society in Glamorganshire, for 8l. 10s. 6d. demanded for tithes, their goods were taken by distress to the amount of 28l. 8s. Nine others in Radnorshire suffered in a similar way.

In the beginning of 1657, G. Fox first visited some parts of Wales. From Bristol going to Cardiff, a justice of peace sent him a message, desiring he, with half a dozen of his friends, would come to his house; accordingly he went, and met with a courteous reception. The next day he had a meeting there, which, notwithstanding some attempted to disturb it, was held to good satisfaction.

At Swansea also his labour was blessed with success, and a settled meeting established there. At Brecknock he met with rude treatment from the populace, stimulated to riot by the magistrates. Next morning he wrote a paper to the town, to point out their unchristian-like behaviour.

From hence he went to a great meeting held in a grave yard, to which many came, and amongst the rest Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, accompanied by another justice. His ministry here was effectual to the conviction of many. After the meeting, he went with Walter Jenkin to the aforesaid justice's house, who expressed his approbation of his service, saying, "you have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds."

He next proceeded to Pontemoil, and had a meeting there, at which so many were convinced, that a meeting was gathered and established in these parts. From hence he returned to England.

This people in Wales bore a share of the afflictions of their brethren, in imprisonments and personal abuse; in the disturbance of their meetings, in distresses for tithes, &c. &c. Although some of them were severe enough, particularly the sufferings of John Ap-John and Elizabeth Holmes, yet, to avoid prolixity on a subject every where supplying abundant matter for reflection, I pass on to

## SCOTLAND.

THE earliest meetings in Scotland were held about the year 1653; when several serious inquirers into the nature of true religion began to separate from the public assemblies, and to meet together in silence. As they were thus exercised in awful humility of soul, they came to experience the power and influence of the spirit of God, enabling some of them to speak forth his praise, and from a sense of his goodness to become instrumental for the edification of others.

The first natives of this country, who distinguished themselves as preachers among this people, were William Osborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton: this A. Hamilton, with his wife and sister, had been members of a society of Independents, whereof Tho. Chartres was the teacher. Their departure from the church was regretted by the rest of the society, being persons esteemed for their religious deportment, and Chartres would willingly have induced them to come again and sit under his teachings, but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he threat-  
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ened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for passing that sentence, giving A. Hamilton previous notice thereof. Hamilton warned him "to forbear, lest the anger of the Lord should be provoked against him." This caution Chartres regarded not, but answered, "it is but *A. Hamilton* that says so:" to which Hamilton, in the presence of many witnesses, replied, that "what he had said, was of the Lord." Chartres persisted in his resolution, which he was prevented from putting into execution, in a remarkable manner. About two days before the time fixed for pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, as he was walking in the graveyard, where his horse was grazing, he slept to him to stroke him, when the horse gave him such a violent kick on the side, as occasioned his death about the same hour in which he had purposed to pass the said sentence.

Some of the first of this people from England who travelled into Scotland, were Christopher Fell: George Wilson, John Grave, Sarah Chevers, and Catharine Evans; also Miles Halhead, and J. Lancaster, who, in 1654, being at Dumfries, and M. Halhead, after the priest had ended, testifying against the hypocrisy of the people, they were so enraged, that they forced him and his companion out of the town to the side of a river, intending to have stoned them; but they, by wading through the river, escaped: after which they were at Edinburgh and Leith about ten days, where Miles delivered to the officers of the army and garrisons his message, which was, that "the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises, which they made to him in the day of their distress, when the enemies compassed them on every side, for then the Lord delivered them and gave them the victory; but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence against those he had sent to declare



his word amongst them." Thence they went to Glasgow and Sterling, and returned to England.

In 1655, W. Caton and J. Stubbs visited their brethren in Scotland, administering such counsel as, in their low condition at that time, tended to edification. J. Stubbs returning to England, W. Caton went to Sterling, where he was taken before the governor, who at first accosted him in an angry manner, but William, by his soft answers, appeased his wrath. He was also at Glasgow, and went into the cathedral there, where, after their worship was ended, he had an opportunity of speaking to the people in the yard, the English soldiers, in garrison there, not permitting any injury to be done to him. He was likewise at Douglas, where he preached without much opposition.

In October, 1657, G. Fox was at Edinburgh, where he was summoned to appear before the council.

He appeared, and after examination, they told him, that "he must depart the nation of Scotland by that day sevensnight." Nevertheless, he continued travelling through several parts of that country, preaching among the people wheresoever he came, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh.

Stephen Crisp travelled into Scotland to preach the gospel there in 1659.

The gospel-testimony of these faithful witnesses reached to the consciences of many who heard them, but met with a virulent opposition from the priests.

The beginning of this conviction was by means of the ministry of W. Dewsbury, effectually reaching the hearts of some noted professors in Aberdeen, particularly Alex. Jaffray, who had been chief magistrate of that city, and a man greatly esteemed among the highest professors of religion there; also Alex. Gelly, Margaret Molleson, wife of Gilbert Molleson,

Molleſon, a magiſtrate of Aberdeen; Elizabeth Goodall, wife of Andrew Goodall, merchant of the ſame place; Margaret Scott, wife of John Scott, alſo a magiſtrate of that city; and ſome others, eminent for their ſober conduct.

Alex. Jaffray, ſoon after his convincement, in the beginning of 1663, was induced to remove into the country to live at Inverary, and was inſtrumental to ſettle a meeting there: by means whereof, ſome there, hearing the joyful ſound of truth, gladly cloſed therewith; among whom were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robertſon.

About the ſame time were alſo convinced, George Gray and Agnes Simon, perſons of repute among the profeſſors in thoſe parts, as to their religious abilities and good converſation, ſo that the prieſt of the pariſh where they dwelt, Samuel Walker, at Monkeggie, boaſted of them, ſaying, that "he had a weaver and a poor woman, whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equalize either for knowledge or good life: but ſhortly after, both theſe his hearers, of whom he was ſo highly opinionated, withdrew from under his teachings, and joined the Quakers.

Agnes Simon readily opened her houſe for the keeping of religious meetings, and the neighbouring people flocked to the aſſemblies held there near Ardiharrald, inſomuch that her houſe could not contain them, (ſhe being but a poor woman) and they met in the open field, where Patrick Livingſtone was made a bleſſed inſtrument, with ſome others, to turn many unto Chriſt, experiencing the quickening power and virtue of his ſpirit to raiſe them from death to life. For the ſtrengthening of theſe, Elizabeth Johnſton became a conſiderable inſtrument.

This convincement, cauſing many to withdraw from ſitting under their teachings, alarmed the prieſts of Aberdeen; who, by calumnies vented from the

pulpits, laboured to incense the magistrates to suppress this people, and to raise, among the ruder of their hearers, a spirit of indignation. Hence it was, that when any of this persuasion came thither, they were received by the populace with stoning, and other lawless abuses, which the magistrates, instead of reproof, did too often countenance: they shut up Richard Roe, a shoemaker of Edinburgh, in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen; and kept him close prisoner six months.

## ISLE OF MAN.

THE magistrates of this island being early prepossessed with prejudice against the Quakers, made laws against them at their first arrival there, one of which was for banishing all of that persuasion, whether natives or others; accordingly Catharine Evans was taken out of her bed by night, and sent away. J. Lancaster was also expelled the island, for no other reason than his going under the name of a Quaker. Peter Cosnock, his son, and several others, were imprisoned at Castlepeel, by order of William Christen, a magistrate; from thence they were removed to Douglas, and banished. They applied to Lord Fairfax for leave to return, but he would not grant it, though some of them were born there. At length, upon application to the parliament, such as were inhabitants of the place, were permitted to return.

William Callow was detained eight weeks in prison for reproofing a priest, whom he had heard abusing the Quakers in his sermon. Several were taken out of a meeting on the first day of the week, and set in the stocks four hours in the market place; others were fined, of whom were W. Callow, John Christen

Christen, and Evan Kerush; from the two former were taken ten bushels of oats by distress, which were laid in a barn\*. On the next first day, after sermon, the priest gave notice for the poor to go to the barn for corn, which the governor had ordered to be distributed amongst them; some of the poor people, his own hearers, answered, "that it had been more charity to have given his own goods to the poor than other men's, and that they would receive none of it." However, some went to the place with the priest and soldiers, and W. Callow went also. The priest called to the poor several times to hold their bags, but none of them would; at this he grew angry, and looking sternly at W. Callow, called to the people, "Why don't you take the corn? Is there any one here that hath aught to do with this corn, or saith it may not be given to the poor?" this he said to provoke from William some expression; but he held his peace. The poor stood still a while, and then withdrew, one by one, leaving the corn with the priest and soldiers. On the following first day, the parson again published the corn for distribution, signifying how much the governor was displeased that they had not taken it before. For fear of the governor and the priest, some poor people went, but only one of them would take any, and he vauntingly said to the rest, "You are so proud you will not take it: I have got this, and there will be more of his goods taken before this be eaten, and then I'll get more;" but it happened, that before he had eaten what he took, he was taken away by death. The rest of the corn lay till it was spoiled, for nobody would take it.

\* This barn belonged to William Christen, an officer under Lord Fairfax, but falling afterward under his displeasure for some misdemeanour, he was shot to death on the island. In his last speech he mentioned with much regret his evil treatment of the Quakers.

W. Callow and several others, for two-pence each, demanded by the priest for bread and wine, were imprisoned by a warrant from James Challoner the governor, from whom also in September this year, the priest procured another warrant for the imprisonment of W. Callow and Evan Christen, for refusing to pay tithes. One morning early, as they came on shore, after being all night at sea, (for they were fishermen) they were hurried to prison in their wet clothes, and detained several days in the midst of their herring fishery, the most advantageous season for their business.

## IRELAND.

THE first of this people in Ireland, was William Edmundson, who came over in the way of trade; and being soon after convinced, was instrumental to the conviction of others, before any of their ministers came over from England.

He was born at Little Musgrave in Westmoreland, in 1627. In his minority, he was often seriously affected with consideration about a future state; and as his age and faculties advanced towards maturity, his desires after everlasting felicity increased in proportion. About 1650 he entered into the parliament's army. During the campaign in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, the salvation of his soul fixing more deeply in his mind, he grew weary of a military life, and laid down his arms, to be more at liberty to engage in the spiritual warfare. In 1651 he returned from Scotland into England, and was quartered in Derbyshire; which being about the time of G. Fox's release from Derby jail, he, and the people who had there lately received the denomination of Quakers, were become a general topic

topic of conversation, and variety of reports were propagated concerning them, some in their favour, and many to their disadvantage: upon the comparison, William, before he knew them, found his heart inclined to the favourable side.

About this time he entered into the married state, intending to settle in Derbyshire; but at the persuasion of his brother John, who was then a soldier in Ireland, he removed thereto. Landing in Dublin, he was strongly importuned to settle in that city, having the inviting prospect of a brisk trade and low rent, it being soon after the plague had left many houses uninhabited.—But he writes that he was rescued by a secret hand, which he then knew not, from the deceitfulness of riches, being, by his following experience, brought into the persuasion, that by closing in with the tempting prospect, he might have been diverted from the principal object; a life of religious devotion to the service of his Creator.

From Dublin he removed to the north, and took up his residence in Antrim, in or near which his brother was quartered; and quickly disposing of his goods, he went over to England to lay in a fresh stock, and in his travels through the north he heard that G. Fox and J. Naylor were then in those parts, which raised his desire to hear one or other of them. Going to a meeting where J. Naylor was, his words were not many, though they were powerful, reaching the divine witness in his conscience: and under the humbling effect thereof, he returned home, having accomplished his business in England. Upon his arrival, his brother received him with the customary salutation; but he could not return it in like manner: under this conflict of spirit he sat down, his wife and brother sitting by, in silent astonishment at his visible change.

When he came to the entry of his goods, he was, according to custom, required to enter them upon

oath; but being persuaded of the unlawfulness thereof, he signified he could not swear, because Christ had forbidden it. This doctrine appeared strange to the officers, and no wonder, as it was the first time, in all probability, they had ever heard such a scruple advanced; and his deportment and plain address, standing covered before them, and addressing single persons after the usual way of this people, with *thou* and *thee*, was as offensive to them, as his refusal to swear appeared strange: but he was preserved stedfast in his testimony to the truth, brought through the present trial without injuring his conscience, received his goods and went home.

His situation must have been peculiarly trying, circumstanced as he was, all alone, and without a second in similarity of sentiment or deportment; the wonder and scorn of those around him; where the name of Quaker had but lately been heard of, and where it was presented to the imagination under all the veil of obloquy, which a precise and censorious age, or interested ecclesiastics thought proper to clothe it with.

Many professors of religion came to dispute with him, and speak evil of the way he had embraced. But even these things wrought for good; for the reflections of the self-righteous professors, and the derision of the profane, to which this society was at that time exposed, raised a general spirit of enquiry into their principles and conduct; whereby several sober enquirers were undeceived, as to their mistaken notions of this people; and, in time, finding him and his friends neither deluded nor deceivers, but men of sincerity, they joined with them in society.

In 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, and Miles Bateman, travelled into Ireland, where they published the truth, by preaching to the people in the  
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the cities, towns, and villages, and before the magistrates, as they were occasionally brought into their presence; and many of the inhabitants became convinced of the doctrine of the divine light, to which they bore testimony.

In the same year, W. Edmundson removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, a meeting was kept in his house, which was the first settled meeting in Ireland. This meeting was small at first, but divers sober people joining with them, their number increased. They held their meeting for some time in silent waiting, having no member concerned in the ministry, nor being, since they had a regular meeting, as yet visited by any from England. But it was not long before W. Edmundson received a part in the ministry, and was influenced, at times, to speak a few words for the encouragement of his friends, although in weakness and fear. Shortly after he believed it his duty to bear testimony to the truth, in the public worship-house, for which he was severely beaten by Colonel Stewart; but his testimony was effectual to the conviction of some of the auditory, in particular Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer, who joined him in community.

John Tiffin came over from England, sat with these friends in their meeting in Lurgan, and sometimes spoke a few encouraging words. W. Edmundson and he joined in travelling, and the exercise of successful ministerial labour, through much opposition both from priests and people. The former, taking the alarm at their doctrine, pointed against a hireling ministry and the lawfulness of tithes, exerted themselves to incense the magistrates to persecution against this people. The latter, offended at the apprehended rusticity of their address, frequently ill treated them, not only with abusive expressions, but often with blows.

They



They went to Belfast, (a town of great profession of religion, but deficient in hospitality), not an inn nor public house being willing to entertain them, one excepted, where J. Tiffin lodged, who sought frequent opportunities to promulgate his doctrine; but the inhabitants shut their ears, their hearts, and their houses against them. Having spent five or six weeks here, he returned to England.

The next minister from England was Richard Clayton, who came directly to W. Edmundson's, who joined him in his travels on foot, through the county of Antrim to Colerain, where they preached through the street, for the inhabitants would not admit them into their houses, nor suffer them to lodge in the town; so they were obliged to take up their lodging at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they reached Londonderry, where they were hospitably entertained by one Evans, who, with several of his family, was convinced. They had two meetings in that city, both of which were attended by the governor, who, with several others, acknowledged the truth of their doctrine, and demeaned themselves with affectionate regard towards them. From thence, returning through the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, they came to the house of Margery Atkinson, near Kilmore, where they had a meeting on the first day of the week, at which several were convinced, through the ministry of R. Clayton. Having settled a meeting there, (which in time became large,) they took leave of each other, and soon after R. Clayton returned to England.

Now meetings began to be settled in divers places. One at Gabriel Clark's, at Grange, in the county of Antrim; and another at Archibald Scott's, at Toberhead, county of Londonderry. Convincement spread; and the resentment of the priests and high professors received additional heat from the observation of several leaving them; so that to avenge themselves.

themselves, they procured the imprisonment of W. Edmundson, in Armagh jail.

This year J. Lancaster and J. Tiffin came over from England the second time: they landed in the north, and came to Lurgan, where they had a meeting on the green, near the market-place; here they were set upon by the populace, who beat the said friends and W. Edmundson their townsman severely, and drove them to the town's end, with intention to drive them out of it entirely; but the more sober inhabitants prevented their design.

As yet the profession of Quakers had been confined to the province of Ulster; but now it began to extend to other parts, principally through the ministerial labours of Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith; F. Howgill and E. Burrough, who went over to that nation in the course of this year: the former are supposed to be the first of this society who had a meeting in Dublin, in the chamber of Richard Fowkes, near Polegate; and soon after a meeting was settled at George Latham's, near the same place. Their labours were also remarkably successful in the southern parts of that nation, being effectual to the conviction of many in Dublin, and in the province of Munster, particularly William Ames, who had formerly been a military officer, and a zealous teacher amongst the Baptists.

F. Howgill and E. Burrough also travelled southward into Munster; at Bandon, F. Howgill was kindly entertained by Edward Cook, (a cornet in O. Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to Lord Cork,) who, being convinced, accompanied him on the first day of the week to the public worship, where Francis declared truth to the congregation. In conclusion, Edward Cook\* invited them to a meeting

\* The said Edward Cook lived and walked, to his dying day, in great self-denial to the glory and greatness of the world, and

meeting to be held at his house that evening, to which a great concourse of people resorted, to whom Francis preached; many confessed to the truth of his doctrine, and joined in society with the Quakers.

From hence they went to Limerick, and attempting to speak in the public place of worship, were prevented by an assault of the people, and next morning were put forth through the gates. E. Burrough preached through the streets as they passed along, and without the gates had an opportunity to preach to a great multitude, several of whom were so reached, as to become proselytes to his doctrine.

From Limerick, I apprehend, they returned to Cork; but these their successful labours, and the number of those who thereby were brought to the acknowledgment of their doctrines, alarming the jealousy of the public teachers, by an order of government, at their instigation, these two eminent ministers of the gospel were taken prisoners in Cork, and sent under a guard, from garrison to garrison, to Dublin; where they were committed to the custody of Edward Mortimer, serjeant at arms, until an order was procured from Henry Cromwell, lord deputy, to banish them out of the nation, and a guard of soldiers was appointed to conduct them on shipboard.

As E. Burrough had been a zealous advocate for the liberty of his brethren, in divers remonstrances to the ruling powers in England, with the spirit of evangelical liberty, in a similar address to the present rulers of Ireland, he pleaded his own cause, and that of his fellow-sufferer, against the arbitrary exertion of power, in inflicting punishment without legal conviction of any crime. Remonstrating, that they were men free born; that they had come into Ireland under the best impressions, and with the best

and laid down his head in peace with God, and sweet unity with friends. *Batty's Rise and Progress, p. 95.*

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views; that they had travelled six months in sundry parts of the nation, through many sufferings and reproaches; preaching the kingdom of God, in sobriety, meekness, and the exercise of a pure conscience, both in doctrine and conversation; appealing to all who had heard the one or beheld the other, as witnesses for their inoffensive demeanour, and challenging even their bitterest enemies to prove the contrary: yet were they, without trial, without conviction, condemned to imprisonment, in order to be transported out of the country as vagabonds: and boldly demanding their right, as freeborn subjects, of their personal liberty, until they should be proved guilty by the law of the land, to which they professed subjection, and that for conscience sake\*.

The day that they were banished from Dublin, Barbara Blaugdon landed there, and went directly to the deputy's house, and with some difficulty got admittance to him: being introduced to the drawing-room, a scheme was laid to impose upon her; for, as they knew she had never seen the deputy, another person (a priest) came out of the deputy's chamber covered, those that attended him standing bare-headed; as she did not immediately speak, some of those standing by, asked her "why she did not speak to their lord?" But she, having a sense of the intended deception, answered, "When I see your lord, I shall deliver my message to him:" soon after the deputy himself came forth, and sat down on a couch, to whom she addressed herself so powerfully, that he appeared much concerned at the words she spoke.

From Dublin she went to Cork, where she had some relations; but her sufferings were great, for she was imprisoned almost wherever she came; but ge-

\* See Rutt's History of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers in Ireland.

nerally wheresoever he preached it was attended with demonstration, to the conviction of some of the auditory.

In 1656, W. Edmundson apprehended it his duty to discontinue shop-keeping, and take a farm; in order to encourage his friends to faithfulness in the testimony they had to maintain against the payment of tithes, under the dispensation of the gospel; apprehending his endeavours to preserve them steadfast under suffering, would be likely to have a more prevalent effect, when he should give force to his advice by his own example. With this view, he and some other friends, leaving the meeting at Lurgan, took land in the county of Cavan, and settled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places, whereby their profession gained ground.

In 1657, the meetings of this people in Ireland were visited by Thomas Loe, from Oxford. He travelled (partly on foot) through the greatest part of the nation, and was instrumental to confirm his friends, who were before gathered into the society, and to increase their number by the conviction of others.

In 1659 John Burnyeat, from Cumberland, landed at Donaghadee, in the province of Ulster; he travelled on foot, through divers parts of that province, and by means of his ministry many were converted from the evil of their ways. After having been in Munster, he came again into the north, and at Lurgan met with Robert Lodge, from England: they joined in travelling, promulgating truth, and convincing many. At Londonderry they experienced a different reception from those who went there before; these being refused entertainment, when known to be Quakers, though they offered to pay for it. At the place for public worship, on the first day, they had a good opportunity to publish their doctrine to the people; but at length the mayor sent his officers, and forced them

them out of the city. They continued to travel with diligence for the space of twelve months, visiting many places in the province of Ulster; also Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Bandon, and then returned to the north again; having suffered by cold and hunger, (several parts of the country being mostly uninhabited,) and divers imprisonments; zealously exercising the talents they had received, without any view to other reward, than the inward peace resulting from the conscientious discharge of their duty.

This year, several friends who had removed into the county of Cavan, being disappointed by their landlord, in not fulfilling his covenant with them, left it, and settled in or near Mountmelick, in the Queen's county. In this neighbourhood several convinced persons resided, and a meeting was settled at Mountmelick, which is since become large. The meeting which they left at Cavan was lost by means of the war, Friends being driven from their habitations there, and dispersed into other parts.

Although the way was difficult to our first friends in this nation, yet it doth not appear that persecution was either so general or so violent as in England; which I attribute to the moderation of Henry Cromwell, at this time chief governor, especially as we have fewer accounts of imprisonments and persecutions in the city of Dublin, than in remoter parts, not so immediately under the eye of government. The most remarkable cases that I meet with are those which follow.

Barbara Blaugdon, landing a second time in this country, after narrowly escaping shipwreck off Dun-  
garvan, came to Dublin in 1655, where she felt herself concerned to go and exhort the judges to righteousness in the discharge of their functions: but her exhortation was so ill received, that she was immediately shut up in a loathsome prison, where she

she lay upon straw; and when it rained, the wet and filth of the house of office ran in under her. She was arraigned, and required to plead *guilty* or *not guilty*; to which she answered, "there was no guilt upon any one's conscience for what was done in obedience to the Lord;" which answer not satisfying, she was sent back to prison, where she suffered much. She was afterward imprisoned in Limerick, and when released thence, returned to England; but in her passage thither was robbed by a privateer of all she had on board.

Edward Cook, the soldier before mentioned, being convinced, was sent for before the general, where nothing appeared against him, but that he refused to pull off his hat, using the language of *thee* and *thou*, and declining the customary compliments; for these causes he was dismissed from the army, and deprived of his pay.

W. Edmundson travelling northward, came to a town called Finah, in 1656, where the inn-keepers, when they perceived he was a Quaker, refused him lodging, upon which he applied to the constable to provide him lodging, being a traveller, and having money to pay for it, with much entreaty he obtained admittance into his house, being an ale-house, where he found a company of troopers drinking, who received him with scoffs and impertinencies. They afterward took offence at his singular address, one of them swearing *if he thou'd him again he would cleave his head*. And when in the course of conversation he used the term *thou* to him again, the trooper drew his sword; but a corporal being present prevented him from mischief, ordered him to put up his sword, and the troopers to go to their quarters: he continued to discourse with the corporal, who was convinced, and came to meetings.

He

He at length had a satisfactory meeting at Belurbet, but the provost of the town came with some rude people, and imprisoned both men and women all night: it being a season of frost and snow, they were greatly pinched with the cold. The next morning he set them all at liberty except W. Edmundson, whom he set in the stocks in the market-place, where, the people gathering about him, furnished him with an opportunity to preach to them, who heard him with attention.

The people in general appearing dissatisfied at his unjust imprisonment, the provost sent his officer to let him out; but as he had been thus made a public spectacle without the violation of any law, he would not submit to a release from a petty officer, till the provost, who put him in, came in person to take him out.

About this time O. Cromwell had published a declaration, "That such should be protected in their religion as owned God the Creator of all things, and Christ Jesus the Saviour of men, and the Scriptures, &c." Wherefore when W. Edmundson was set at liberty, the governor of the garrison, officers and principal inhabitants, had him brought before them, to try whether he and his friends were under Oliver's protection or not. The declaration being read, and William called upon to answer to the particulars, gave them such satisfaction, that the governor and company gave judgment, that they were under protection. The provost being present, was covered with confusion at this oblique condemnation of his conduct.\*

## NEW

\* By an account published about this time, it appears, that for speaking the truth in divers public places in Ireland, ninety-four persons of this society had been sufferers by fines, whipping, putting in the stocks, imprisonment, and loss of goods. That  
nineteen



## NEW ENGLAND.

A persecuting spirit had found admission amongst the first inhabitants of New England, for long before any Quakers came into those parts, these refugees from persecution had disfigured and banished several persons \* for their religious opinions.

We have seen the inimical disposition of the priests and ruling powers in England, and their inveterate prejudice against this people; many of them being of the independent class, doubtless kept up a correspondence with their brethren in New England, and filled their letters with investives against the Quakers; for it is manifest they had received an unreasonable prejudice against them before ever they saw their faces; and had condemned their principles as *heretical*, before they knew what these principles were.

They seemed fixed in the determination to give no admission to any other doctrines, than those which their magistrates, under the influence of their teachers and synods, thought proper to establish. No sooner was the intelligence given (1656) of two female Quakers, Anne Austin and Mary Fisher, being arrived from Barbadoes, in the road before Boston, than Richard Bellingham, the deputy governor, immediately ordered them to be detained on board, and dispatched officers to search their trunks, who taking away about one hundred books, carried them ashore. A council extraordi-

nary persons had been imprisoned for meeting to worship in their own houses; and that twelve had been stopped as they were passing about their lawful occasions, and committed to prison.

\* Neale and Cotton. Mather's History of New England.

nary was convened by the governor, as if to provide for the security of the state against the alarming danger threatening it from the arrival of two harmless women, which issued an order \* against them.

In consequence of which their books were burned by the hangman, and they committed to prison by the deputy governor, as Quakers, upon no other proof than that one of them said *thee* to him. Their confinement was so rigorous that no-

\* " At a council held at Boston, 11th July, 1656.

" Whereas there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charles-town, master of the ship Swallow of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves, Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers; who, upon examination, are found not only to be transgressors of former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge, that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them, and spreading here, sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical, and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed amongst us. The council, therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace, and truth enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order:

" *First*, That all such corrupt books as shall be found, upon search, to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner.

" *Secondly*, That the said Anne and Mary be kept in close prison, and none admitted communication with them, without leave from the governor, deputy governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard of some vessel, to be transported out of the country.

" *Thirdly*, The said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport, or cause to be transported, the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of 100l. sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it."

body

body was admitted to converse with them, not even through the window. Their pens, ink, and paper, were taken from them, and they were debarred the use of a candle by night. Next, they stripped them naked, under the pretence of searching for tokens of their being witches\*, and misused them in this search in a shameful manner. They were not only debarred of light and conversation, but in a great measure of sustenance, which, exciting the compassion of Nicholas Upsal, an ancient inhabitant of Boston, he (fearing they would be starved) purchased of the jailer the liberty of sending them provisions, at the extravagant rate of 5s. per week! After about five weeks confinement, one William Chicester, master of a vessel, was bound in a bond of 100l. to carry them back to Barbadoes: and the jailer kept their beds and Bible for his fees.

\* These people, so ready to load the Quakers with reproachful epithets, and impute the origin of their religion to a spirit of delusion, were themselves given up to delusions in respect to witchcraft, which some time after affected them so universally, that they hung one another for witchcraft and sorcery, on vague accusations. Not by the misguided fury of a superstitious populace, but with all the formalities of a solemn trial; by the hands of the common executioner nineteen persons, of both sexes, suffered death in little more than three months time; eleven more lay under condemnation, and one hundred and fifty in prison, untried. Most of these asserted their innocence of the matters laid to their charge, and appear to have been of reputable lives and circumstances in the world. And the principal tokens of fascination recorded in their history, appear to be in the prosecutors, the judges, and the jury, who could condemn to death so many innocent persons, upon such idle tales, and senseless absurdities, as were given in evidence against them; and after all, when the people were so far restored to their senses as to make public recantation of their erroneous proceedings, their justice went no farther than words. The accused persons, being some of them people of property, had all their effects seized by the officers, of which, afterwards, even those whose innocence was acknowledged, could never recover any, or but a very inconsiderable part.

A few

A few days after their departure, viz. on the 7th of the month called August, eight others of the same persuasion\*, arrived at Boston from London, in a ship, whereof Robert Locke was master. He would not suffer them to go on shore, till he had delivered a list of their names to the governor, who sent officers on board to search their boxes for books, and to bring those eight, together with Richard Smith, an inhabitant of Long Island, before the court, then sitting at Boston. After some examination, they were sentenced to banishment, and to be detained in prison till they might be sent back in the same ship, the master whereof was required to give security to take them back at his own charge; refusing which, he was committed to prison, but after some days confinement, fearing the loss of his voyage, he complied. They were detained in prison about eleven weeks, the jailer being impowered to search their boxes, &c. for papers and books, as often as he saw meet. While they were in prison a law was made to punish them, being the first general law made against Quakerst.

The law being proclaimed by beat of drum in the streets of Boston, Nicholas Uphall publicly testified

\* Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Witherhead, and Dorothy Waugh.

† By this law it was enacted, that if the master or commander of any ship &c. should thenceforth bring into any harbour in their jurisdiction any Quakers, he should pay 100l. to the treasurer of the country, or be imprisoned till the payment should be made or secured. That any Quaker coming into the country should be committed to the house of correction, severely whipped, constantly kept to hard labour, and debarred all intercourse with any person whatever. Importers of Quakers' books or writings, or whoever should disperse or conceal such, to be fined 5l. If any inhabitants of the colony defended the books or opinions of the Quakers, they were to be fined 40s. for the second offence 4l. and for the third, to be banished.

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his disapprobation; for which, being next morning sent for to the general court, he told them, "The execution of that law would be a forerunner of a judgment upon the country, and therefore in love and tenderness, which he bore to the people and place, desired them to take heed, lest they were found fighters against God." For this he, though one of their church members, and of blameless conversation, was fined twenty pounds, and three pounds more for not coming to church, from which he had withdrawn, out of a conscientious dissent from a religion without charity.

They next banished him, allowing him, who was an infirm ancient man, but one month for his departure, driving him into exile in the winter. Application being made to Endicot for a mitigation of his fine, he rudely answered, "I will not bate him a groat." He removed to Rhode Island, where he met with that hospitality from an Indian prince, and a Pagan, which was refused from his countrymen, pretending to Christianity. He kindly invited Nicholas to fix his residence with him, and he would make him a warm house, adding his admiration at the "Englishmen's notion of the Divine Being, who dealt so cruelly with one another about their God."

The first of this people who came to New England, after the making of this law, was Ann Burden, widow, who, though no preacher, nor administering any occasion of offence, coming over on the reasonable errand of recovering some debts due to her in that country; yet she was taken up, and carried before Bellingham, who, though he could find no occasion of offence in her, only as she was a Quaker, he said that "she must abide their law," and committed her to prison, and kept her there a quarter of a year, though sick at the same time. During her imprisonment, some of her acquaintance had procured of her debtors, in goods, to the value of about 40*l.* which, when

when she was ordered away, she desired liberty to carry with her to Barbadoes, to be disposed of, not being fit for the English market; this request was denied, and a master of a ship compelled to carry her to England, against her will. When he required who should pay for her passage, the magistrates bade him "take so much of her goods as would satisfy him:" which, however, he would not do, having so much dependance on her honesty, that though he could not compel her to pay, as she was sent away without her consent, yet that she would not let him be a loser, and he was not disappointed in his expectation. After her departure, the officers took away from the person intrusted to convey her goods to Barbadoes, as many as were worth 6l. 10s. for her passage, (which not they, but herself had paid) 7s. for boat-hire, (though the master had offered to take her in his own boat) and 14s. for the jailer.

The next of the Quakers who came to Boston, was Mary Clark, from London, under a religious concern to warn those persecutors to desist from their iniquity. She delivered her message to merciless men, who rewarded her with twenty stripes of a three-corded whip on her naked back, and detained her in prison about twelve weeks. Christopher Holder and John Copeland, with others who had been banished, having returned, under a firm persuasion of duty, were whipped with thirty stripes each, the executioner measuring his ground, and inflicting the strokes with all his strength, which cut their flesh so severely, that a woman fainted away at the sight. After this they were kept three days without food or water, so close that none might speak with them, lodging on the bare boards. In this confinement, they remained nine weeks, without fire, in the winter.

Richard Dowdney was taken up at Dedham, and brought to Boston, and though he had not been there

before, was also punished with thirty stripes, and sent away with the former two, with threats of "cutting off their ears" in case they returned, which threats they afterwards made good.

At the general court held in Boston the 14th of October, 1657, they made an addition to the former law\*; which was not suffered to lie as a dead letter, but the same spirit which had dictated it, was manifested in its execution: no age or sex could move these persecutors to compassion; the objects of their spoiling, imprisoning, or whipping, furnished them almost daily employ.

The severities already inflicted on the members of this society, so affected many inhabitants of this colony, that they withdrew from their public assemblies, and met on the first day of the week to worship quietly by themselves, for which they were fined 5s. per week, and imprisoned. Particularly Laurence and Cassandra Southick, an aged couple, (who in the last year had been imprisoned and fined for entertaining C. Holder and J. Copeland,) with their son Josiah, were sent to the house of correction, whipped, and had their goods taken, to the value of 4l. 15s. for not coming to church. For the

\* "That if any person should entertain any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, knowing them so to be, every such person should forfeit to the country 40s. for every hour's entertaining or concealment, and be committed to prison till the forfeiture be fully paid and satisfied. . If any Quakers should presume, after they had once suffered the law, to return into their jurisdiction, if a male, he should have one of his ears cut off for the first offence; the other ear for the second offence: if a female, to be severely whipped for the first offence; the like punishment to be repeated for the second. Both male and female moreover to be sent to the house of correction, and kept to hard labour till they can be sent away at their own charge. For the third offence their tongues were to be bored through with an hot iron. That every Quaker arising from among themselves should be dealt with, and suffer the like punishments, as the law provides against foreign Quakers."

same

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 125

same cause Edward Harnet, aged sixty-nine, and his wife, seventy-three years of age, had 37s. taken from them, without regard to their poverty or their age, which would naturally excite tenderness.

William Shattock, a shoe-maker, being found on a first day of the week, quietly sitting alone in his house, in the time of their worship, and being too poor to pay the 5s. a week, was sent to the house of correction, cruelly whipped, and then kept to hard labour, the profits whereof the jailer detained to his own use, leaving his family, a wife and four small children, who had nothing but his labour to subsist on, in want. At last he had only three days time assigned him, to depart out of their jurisdiction, to which hard condition he was necessitated to submit, in order to be in a capacity to support himself and family. Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, for speaking a few words at the conclusion of one of their lectures in Boston, were also sent to the house of correction, and kept three days without food; they were then cruelly whipped, and kept three days longer without victuals, although they offered to purchase them.

In 1658, Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, in the public meeting place at Boston, after the priest had done, having warned the people of "the dreadful, terrible day of the Lord, which was coming upon that town and country," was hauled out by the hair of the head, and sent to prison, where he was shut up in a close room, excluded from all company. Next day he was cruelly whipped, and then shut up eleven days more, five of which he was kept without bread, because he refused to work for the jailer, and probably had been starved, had not some humane people privately conveyed him some food through the window by night. Reduced to great weakness by long fasting and the torture of whipping, the jailer, inured to cruelty, insisted on his working, though



though disabled by his abusive treatment, and upon his refusal, gave him, weak as he was, twenty-two blows with a pitched rope, and some days after, fifteen stripes with a three-corded whip.

On the 20th of 3d month, this year, another law was made, which enacted, "that every person meeting (as Quakers) shall pay to the country for every time, 10s.; and every one speaking in such meeting, shall pay 5l. a-piece, &c. &c.\*"

Of all the instances of cruelty that in the records of this furious government disgust the feelings of humanity, the treatment of William Brend is scarcely exceeded.

In the latter part of the 5th month, this year, W. Brend and William Leddra, at the house of Robert Adams, in Newbury, by desire of the inhabitants, had a conference with a priest, in the presence of one Capt. Gerish, who had promised them protection from suffering for that conference; yet because they did not comply with his orders to depart the town immediately, he violated his engagement in sending them by a constable to Salem, where being interrogated by the magistrates, "Whether they were Quakers?" they answered, "We are in scorn called so." Then it was objected to them, "that they held dangerous errors, as denying Christ, who suffered death at Jerusalem, and the scriptures." Boldly contradicting this charge, they asserted that, "They owned Jesus Christ, who suffered death at Jerusalem, and owned the scriptures also." Notwithstanding their denial of this false accusation, and the confession of the magistrates, that they found no evil in them, they were committed to prison there, and thence transmitted to the house of correction in Boston, where they were required to work; upon their refusing to submit to this requisition, as

\* Gough, vol. i. p. 358.

being

being convicted of no crime, the jailer, who sought his gains from their labour, would allow them no food, though they offered to pay for it, telling them; "it was not their money, but their work which he wanted." Five days they were kept from food, and then received twenty stripes with the three-corded whip. Some time after he let them know, "they were at liberty to depart, upon paying their fees, and hiring the marshal to conduct them out of the country." With this unreasonable condition they were not free to comply, but signified their willingness to accept their liberty, if it were freely granted.

Next day this jailer put W. Brend, a man in years, in irons, his heels so close to his neck, that there was only room for the lock that fastened them, and kept him in this painful posture from five in the morning till after nine at night. Next morning he insisted on William's working for him, which he refused to do; whereupon he took a pitched rope, about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms with all his strength till the rope untwisted: then he fetched another rope, and laid on, till his strength and his rope failed him, and the poor man's back and arms were reduced to one gore of blood, so that the sign of a particular blow could not be distinguished; and even then desisted with passionate menaces of repeating equal cruelty the next day.

The persevering inhumanity of this jailer towards this inoffensive sufferer, had so far exhausted his natural strength, that he fell down under his hands so extremely weakened, that for some time he lost his sight, hearing, and feeling, turned quite cold, and had all the symptoms of a dying man.

The noise of this cruelty getting abroad, the murmurs of the people broke out into a general outcry against it, which caused the governor to send his

surgeon to examine his condition, who, despairing of his recovery, reported, that "the flesh would rot off his bones, ere the bruised parts could be brought to digest." This report exasperated the people to that degree, that the magistrates, to prevent a tumult, set up a paper at the public places, signifying their dislike of this cruelty; and that "the jailer should be dealt with at the next court day." But this paper was soon after taken down at the instigation of their chief priest, John Norton, a principal promoter of the persecution from the beginning.

In the mean time W. Brend recovered, the dissatisfaction of the people died away, and the magistrates were relieved from the panic into which the apprehension of his dying, by the jailer's cruelty, had thrown them; and instead of calling the jailer to account, they strengthened his hands by the following order: "That the jailer, if the Quakers refused to work, should whip them twice a week; the first time with ten lashes, the next time with fifteen, and so each time with three more, till they would work;" but to preserve some appearance of disposition to moderate the jailer's fury, they ordered that he should warn two constables to oversee the execution. This order was executed and exceeded upon several persons, who each of them received fifteen stripes instead of ten; but we have no account of either jailer or constable being called to account for transgressing the limitation of their order.

About this time there was a meeting at the house of Nicholas Phelps, in the woods, about five miles from Salem; and, upon the information of one Butter, the six following residents were committed to prison: Samuel Shattock, Laurence Southick, and Cassandra his wife, Josiah their son, Samuel Gaskin, and Joshua Buffum, who, being kept close in the house of correction, during the heat of the summer, from their husbandry, after three weeks confinement,  
repre-

represented their case to the court by a letter; whereupon S. Shattock and J. Buffum were released, but the other four arbitrarily detained in prison. It was not long till those who had been released were sent back to rejoin their former companions, for absenting from their public meetings, and meeting by themselves contrary to law; for which they were each fined by the court at Ipswich 5s. for absenting from their worship by the law of 1646, and 10s. each for meeting by themselves. After this they proceeded to condemn them to punishment upon their last law against Quakers. Upon which they demanded a trial by a jury, and evidence to prove them such as that law described, viz. "curfed heretics, who hold blasphemous opinions, and promulgate diabolical doctrines;" but this demand would not be granted. Broadstreet, intimating the court would find out an easier way to discover a Quaker than by blasphemy, (a confession which it was easier to charge than to prove) so, concluding them Quakers from appearing with their hats on, the court, without further proof or inquiry, sentenced them to be whipped. About three weeks after, they were brought before the general court at Boston, from which they repeated their demand of a fair trial, and received a second refusal; they remonstrated against the unjust punishments which had been inflicted upon them; refuted their charges; maintained that they had already suffered the punishment prescribed by their law, and therefore had a just claim to liberty. Though the court was in no wise inclined to admit their just claim, they were reduced to a nonplus, to find a pretext for adding punishments beyond law to the various penalties of their unrighteous laws\*. Wherefore they continued them

\* The next day Charles Chauncey, the president of their College, preached an occasional lecture for the purpose of furnishing

them in prison, to consider what further measures to take with them.

We come now to the execution of their law against such as should presume to return after they had suffered before. Christopher Holder and John Copeland coming to Dedham, and lodging there one night, were next day taken to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he addressed them with this rough salutation: "You shall be sure to have your ears cut off." Soon after J. Rouse also coming to Boston, was clapt into prison. On the 10th of September, these three were brought before the court, where, after some reflections cast upon them, Endicot, in wrath, pronounced the following sentence: "It is the sentence of this court, that you three have each his right ear cut off by the hangman;" which sentence was executed upon them the 16th. The deputy marshal having admitted as many as he thought proper, had the doors made fast, and the prisoners being brought into another room, J. Rouse told the marshal, "We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England." To which he answered, "I have nothing to do with that." Holder said, "Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for that was contrary to the law of England." Capt. Oliver replied, "We do it in private, to keep you from tattling." The executioner then proceeded to the execution of his office upon Holder; the marshal, who was ordered to see the execution, turned his back,

wishing a palliative for inflicting additional punishments upon them, by the following uncharitable comparison: "Suppose ye should catch six wolves in a trap, (alluding to the six prisoners) and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now you have them, they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain mark of wolves. Now I leave it to your consideration, (said he) whether you will let them go alive, yea or nay?"

upon

upon which Rouse called to him "to turn about and see it," according to his order, and then he turned again. After Holder suffered the amputation of his ear, Rouse undauntedly suffered the like, and after him, Copeland; which being done, they said, "Those who do it ignorantly, we desire, from our hearts, the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads; and such shall know, in the day of account, that each drop of our blood shall be heavier than a mill-stone."

Amongst others whom curiosity or compassion had drawn to see this execution, was Catharine Scot, a respectable inhabitant of Providence, who, upon observing it to be done in private, remarked that it was evident they were doing the work of darkness, or else they would have brought them forth publicly, and have declared their offences, that others might hear and fear. For this observation, she was committed to prison, and severely whipped with a three-fold cord knotted whip. And, upon her examination, being threatened with hanging if she came thither again, she replied, "If God calls us, woe be to us if we come not; and I question not but he whom we love, will make us not to count our lives dear to ourselves, for his name's sake;" to which Endicot rejoined, "And we shall be as ready to take away your lives, as you shall be to lay them down;" which expression his actions afterwards made good.

Notwithstanding the sanguinary laws enacted, and the punishment inflicted upon this people, several of them were still concerned to continue their travels for fulfilling that ministry they believed themselves called to, by the exercise whereof, and beholding the patience of the sufferers, many of the inhabitants of Boston, Salem, and other places, had been brought over to join with them in fellowship,

and many more to sentiments of compassion and good-will toward them; that the society gained ground under all difficulties.

At this time John Norton, in conjunction with others of the priesthood, forgot his duty so far, that he presented a petition to the magistrates\*, to "make some law to banish the Quakers, upon pain of death;" thus prescribing to them the measures to pursue. In consequence whereof the magistrates, in their general court held in Boston in October, made no difficulty of passing an act to banish and put them to death without a trial by jury, agreeing it should be executed by a county court, consisting of three magistrates, the majority of whom were to give judgment, and condemn to death at their pleasure; but the court of deputies would by no means agree to it, as being contrary to the laws of England. However, the magistrates and priests exerted all their influence with the deputies, and at last prevailed upon two of them to change sides; even then their sanguinary law was carried by a majority of one voice only: the speaker and eleven more being against, and thirteen for it. One Wozel, a deacon of their church, and a deputy, being confined by indisposition, desired to be sent for, when the law should be put to the vote; but it was carried in his absence, which when he heard, in the anxiety of his heart, he went to the court, desired his vote might be taken, with tears expressing his sorrow that his absence should occasion such a law to pass, saying, "That if he had not been able to go, he would have crept on his hands and knees to prevent it." Thus was the law carried to banish them on

\* John Endicott, governor; Richard Bellingham, deputy governor; John Norton, and John Wilson, chief priests of Boston; and the majors-general, Dennison and Adderton, constantly appear amongst their determined foes,

pain of death by a majority of three magistrates, without the interposition of a jury; yet two of the deputies, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, and Thomas Clark of Boston, merchant, being still dissatisfied, entered their protest against this law, as contrary to a standing law of the country, which was, "that none be sentenced to death and banishment but by a special jury and court of assistants."

The first victims to this severe law, were Laurence and Cassandra Southick, their son Josiah, S. Shattock, N. Phelps, and J. Buffum. They were called before the court the 11th of 3d month, 1659. On their trial (such as it was) they queried, "whether it was for an offence against that law\*, which then had no existence, they were committed to prison and banished?" Receiving no reply, one of them desired the governor, "that he would be pleased to declare before the people the true cause of their proceedings against them:" he answered, "it was for contemning authority in not coming to the ordinances of God†." He further charged them "with rebellion against the authority of the country, in not departing according to their order;" to which they answered, "they had no other place to go to, but had their wives, children, families, and estates, to look after;" nor had they done any thing worthy of death, banishment, or bonds, or any of the ignominious punishments which they had suffered in their persons, besides the loss of 100l. worth of their property taken from them for meeting toge-

\* They were in custody when it was made.

† What he particularly meant by the ordinances of God, I cannot determine; if it was their public worship, (for their absence from which they had before suffered by fines and by whipping) I think it is a bold appellation, as applied to that worship and that religion which produced no better fruits. Such bitter waters never issued from a divine fountain.

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ther. This remonstrance of their recent accumulated injuries silencing the governor, Major-general Dennison replied, "that they stood against the authority of the country in not submitting to their laws; that he should not go about to speak much of the error of their judgments; but, added he, you and we are not able well to live together: at present the power is in our hand, and therefore the strongest must fend off." After this the prisoners were put forth for a while, and being called in again, the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them, and a fortnight's time allowed them to depart on pain of death; and though they desired a respite to settle their affairs, and till an opportunity of a convenient passage to England might occur, the malice of their persecutors would not grant them even this request; so S. Shattock, N. Phelps, and J. Southick, were obliged to take an opportunity that presented four days after, to pass for England by Barbadoes, in order to seek redress from the council of state there, but without success. Laurence and Cassandra Southick went to Shelter Island, where they soon after died within three days of each other; and Joshua Buffum retired to Rhode Island.

The proceedings of these rulers are strongly marked throughout with inhumanity; but I know of no instance of a more persevering cruelty, than that wherewith they persecuted the aforesaid L. and C. Southick and their family.—Spoiled of their property, deprived of liberty\*, driven into banishment, and in jeopardy of their lives, for no other crime than dissenting from the established worship!

\* While they were in prison, William Maston coming through Salem in his way to Boston, brought them some provisions, for which he was committed to prison, and kept there fourteen days in the cold winter season, though about seventy years of age.

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The sufferings of this inoffensive, aged couple, ended only with their lives.

But the multiplied injuries of this harmless pair were not sufficient to gratify these persecutors, while any of the family remained unmolested. During their detention in prison, they left at home a son and daughter: they, not deterred by the treatment of their parents and brother, relinquished the assemblies of a people whose religion was productive of such relentless persecution; for their absence from which, they were fined 10*l.* though it was well known they had no estate, their parents having been reduced to poverty by repeated fines and extravagant distrains; wherefore, to satisfy the fine, they were ordered to be sold for slaves\*!

Edw. Butter, one of the treasurers, sought out for a passage for them to Barbadoes for sale, but could find none willing to take them thither. One master of a ship, to whom he applied, in order to evade a compliance, pretended they would spoil the ship's company; Butter replied, "No, you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures, that will not hurt any body." The master rejoined, "Will you then offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" and declined the office of transporting them. Disappointed in his design, and at a loss how to dispose of them, the winter approaching, he sent them home to shift for themselves, till he could find an opportunity to send them away.

\* A COPY OF THE ORDER.

"Whereas Daniel Southick and Provided Southick, son and daughter of Laurence Southick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to work; the court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, "That the treasurers of the several counties, are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines."

William

William Robinson, a merchant of London, Marmaduke Stevenson, of Yorkshire, husbandman, and Mary Dyer, wife of a reputable inhabitant of Rhode-Island, the mother of several children, with Nicholas Davis, were, by the court of assistants at Boston, in the beginning of September, 1659, sentenced to banishment on pain of death. W. Robinson attempting to speak for himself, was first stopped by a handkerchief thrust into his mouth, and afterwards severely whipped; soon after which they were released, and banished pursuant to their sentence; being allowed no more than two days, from the 12th of September, the day of their release, to the 14th of the same, to depart, or answer it at the peril of their lives, if found within their precincts after the last-mentioned day.

M. Dyer and N. Davis left that jurisdiction; W. Robinson and M. Stevenson only went from Boston, but found themselves not at liberty to depart the jurisdiction, apprehending their ministry there not finished; so they departed for Salem and the adjacent parts, to visit their friends and confirm them in the faith.

It was not long before they were taken up, imprisoned, and put in chains at Boston. In the next month M. Dyer also returned, and was taken into custody. On the 20th of October they were brought before the court, and being set to the bar, John Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats, and without further process, proceeded to pass sentence of death as follows; "We have made many laws, and endeavoured by several ways, to keep you from us, and neither whipping nor imprisonment, nor cutting off of ears, nor banishment on pain of death, will keep you from among us: I desire not your deaths." Then added, "Give ear and hearken to your sentence of death." W. Robinson, previous to passing the sentence, desiring liberty

berly to read a paper, shewing the reason why he had not departed; his request was refused, and the following sentence passed upon him: "You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead." After which M. Stevenfon and M. Dyer received the like sentence; these two, observing the treatment of W. Robinfon, made no defence. But the former, after the sentence, was incited to warn the magistrates and others guilty of their death, "That the same day they put the Lord's servants to death, the day of their visitation should pass over their heads, and they be cursed for evermore: and therefore in love, desired them to take warning before it should be too late, and thereby remove the fatal consequences of shedding innocent blood." M. Dyer, to her sentence, replied, "The will of the Lord be done." Upon which the president ordered the marshal to take her away; she rejoined, "Yea, joyfully I go." Being taken back to prison, she employed a part of the intermediate time in writing, to the general court in Boston, a letter of remonstrance against their last sanguinary law, being a strong dissuasion from putting it in execution.

The 27th of October, being the day appointed for their execution, in the afternoon they were led to the gallows by Michaelfon, the marshal, and Capt. Oliver, with a band of about 200 armed men, besides horsemen, as if apprehensive that some of the people might rescue the prisoners. In the procession, the drummers were placed to march next before the condemned persons, and when any of them attempted to speak, the drums were beaten to prevent their being heard.

Supported by that which the inveteracy of their persecutors could not reach, (the testimony of an approving conscience,) they rose superior to all the indig-

indignities to which they were exposed. With hands and hearts joined, as companions in an invincible testimony to the truth for which they were brought to suffer, with countenances undismayed, and brightened with signs of heavenly joy, they directed their steps to the place of execution. Mary being in the middle, the marshal said to her, "Are you not ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?" She replied, "No; this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in the world. No ear can ear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and refreshings of the spirit of the Lord, which I now feel." W. Robinson began to speak, upon which the drums were immediately beaten. When they ceased, M. Stevenson said, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you;" but though he expressed more, the noise of the drums prevented his being heard.

Amongst those who attended this execution, John Wilson, priest of Boston, and colleague of J. Norton, accompanied them, not to sympathize with, but to disturb them with impotent insults. "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?" was his contemptuous language; which occasioned W. Robinson to remark, "Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death." W. Robinson was executed first, who, on the ladder, addressed the people to the following purport: "We suffer not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth: this is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the light of Christ which is in you, to which I have borne testimony, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood." Wilson, unable to restrain the passion which agitated him, in beholding the fortitude of the sufferer, vented his indignation, by saying, "Hold thy tongue, be silent; thou

thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." William Robinson being now ready to be turned off, his last expressions were, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." After he was turned off, Marmaduke Stevenson ascended the ladder, and said, "Be it known unto you all this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake;" and when he was about to be turned off, added, "This day shall we be at rest with the Lord." Mary Dyer was reprieved at the gallows, for that time, at the intercession of her son.

The malice of their persecutors was not satisfied with taking away their lives; their inhumanity extended even to their dead bodies; none holding them when they were cut down, they fell to the ground; then their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies rolled into a hole and left uncovered. When some of their friends would have put their bodies in coffins, they were not suffered to do it. Neither when they brought pales to enclose the pit, would it be allowed: so that they were left exposed to beasts of prey, had not the pit been quickly filled with water.

Many of the people, more humane than their magistrates and teachers\*, beheld these executions with silent sorrow, and returned home, under disgust at the cruelty of their rulers in putting innocent men to death, which the magistrates perceiving, in order to allay the ferment, resolved to send M. Dyer away. They caused her to be set on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed her fifteen miles towards Rhode-Island; when they left her with a man and horse to be conveyed the rest of the way: these she soon sent back, and went to her own home.

\* John Wilson, a priest, vented his spleen by making a song on the occasion of their deaths.

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The constancy and innocence of these two martyrs at their execution, did not only excite, in the spectators in general, compassion and sorrow, but in several of them a spirit of enquiry into the causes thereof, and in consequence an adoption of that religion, which, they saw, was able to support its professors under so heavy a weight of afflictions. John Chamberlain, an inhabitant of Boston, in particular, being present, was so affected, that being convinced of the truth they died for, he went to visit others of that persuasion then in prison, which the magistrates resented so far as to imprison him also, and cause him to be whipped several times severely. Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, having said, the guilt of Robinson's and Stevenson's blood was so great, that he could not bear it, was, for his pretended insolence, whipped with twenty lashes, and fined 20l.\*. But these severities failing of reconciling the people to their proceedings, and finding them condemned by the generality at home and abroad, they published an apology†; in justification of their conduct.

Mary Dyer believing it her duty to go back again to Boston, returned accordingly on the 21st of 3d month, 1660; and on the 31st of the same was sent for by the general court; being come, Endicot, the governor, said, "Are you the same Mary Dyer, that was here before?" And it seems he was preparing an evasion for her, there having been another of that name lately come from England. But she undauntedly answered, "I am the same Mary Dyer that was here the last general court." Then Endi-

\* Michael Shaffin, of Salem, some years after, being interrogated by the court there, "How long he had absented from their worship?" answered, "Ever since you put the servants of the Lord to death."

† Gough's History, vol. i. p. 397.

cot said, "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" To which she answered, "I own myself to be reproachfully called so:" Endicot said, "The sentence was passed upon her the last general court, and now likewise: you must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there to be hanged until you are dead." To which she answered, "This is no more than what thou saidst before." Endicot replied; "but now it is to be executed, therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock." She then spoke thus: "I came in obedience to the will of God, the last general court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws for banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request; although I told you, that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against you." Hereupon Endicot asked her, "Whether she was a prophetess?" She answered, "She spoke the words that the Lord spoke to her, and now the thing was come to pass." And beginning to speak of her call, Endicot cried, "Away with her, away with her." So she was taken to prison, and kept close till next day.

About the time appointed, the marshal Michaelson came, and called for her to come hastily, and coming into the room where she was, she desired him to stay a little, and, speaking mildly, said, she would be ready presently: But he said, "He could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him." One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to see such hard-heartedness, spoke something against their unjust proceedings: to which he said, "You shall have your share of the same." Then M. Dyer was brought forth, and with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued



nued, that none might hear her speak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. Thus guarded, she came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, some said to her, that if she would return, she might come down, and save her life. To which she replied, "Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to death." Then Capt. James Webb said, "that she had been there before, and had the sentence of banishment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now; and therefore was guilty of her own blood." To which she returned, "Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord, therefore my blood will be required at your hands who wilfully do it; but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will I stand even to death." Then priest Wilson said, "Mary Dyer, O repent, O repent, and be not so deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil." To this she answered, "Nay, man, I am not now to repent." And being asked by some, "Whether she would have the elders pray for her?" she said, "I know never an elder here." Being farther asked, "Whether she would have any of the people pray for her?" she said, "I desire the prayers of all the people of God." Thereupon some scoffingly said, "It may be she thinks there are none here." To which she replied, "I know but few here." Then they spoke to her again, that one of the elders might pray for her. To which she replied, "Nay, first a child, then a young man, then a strong man, before an elder in Christ Jesus." After this she was charged with something, which was not understood what it was; but she seemed to hear

hear it; for she said, "It is false, it is false, I never spoke those words." Then one mentioned that she should have said, "she had been in Paradise." To which she answered, "Yea, I have been in Paradise these several days." And more she spoke of the eternal happiness, into which she was now to enter. Thus Mary Dyer departed this life, having been twice led to death, which the first time she expected with entire resignation, and now suffered with Christian fortitude, being raised above the fear of death, through a blessed hope and assurance of eternal life.

There were at this time eleven other prisoners in Boston, of whom C. Holder was sentenced to banishment upon pain of death, six were sentenced to be whipped, and four ordered to depart the colony.

The colony of New Plymouth copied after that of the Massachusetts, as appears by a letter of James Cudworth\*, who had borne the offices of a magistrate and a captain or commission officer there, till he resigned the one, and was discharged from the other, for discovering some humanity to the persecuted Quakers.

During this period it does not appear that any called Quakers had visited the American settlements on the continent, except the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, (now New York,) where some of them, particularly Robert Hodgson, underwent grievous sufferings from the Dutch governor: who, after some time, relented, excusing his conduct, as being short of the cruelty of the Quakers own countrymen in New England. John Bound was imprisoned by the governor, in a cold dungeon, almost famished there, and banished to Holland; where the states gave him his liberty, and he returned home: some time after the governor meeting him in the street, seemed ashamed of what he had done,

\* Gough's History, page 406, vol. i.

and

and told him, "He was glad to see him safe home again;" adding, "he hoped he should never do for any more to any of his friends:" a token of repentance, and of an ingenuous disposition.

In the province of Maryland, about the year 1658, several of the inhabitants, being convinced, were brought under suffering, mostly in fines for non-compliance with the military law, and on their refusing to take an oath.

William Leddra, of Barbadoes, was the fourth and last, who sealed his testimony with his blood, under their hands. After much hardship, imprisonment, and many cruel stripes, he had been banished from Boston on pain of death. Returning soon after to visit his friends in prison there, he was apprehended, and kept night and day in an open jail, chained to a log of wood, during an extreme cold winter. He was brought before the court of assistants the 9th of the 1st month (1661) with his chain and log at his heels; the court passed sentence of death upon him, which on the 14th of the same month was put in execution. As the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he meekly said, "I commend my righteous cause to thee, O God," and as the ladder was turning, he cried out, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." When the executioner cut him down, four of his friends, Edw. Wharton, Robert Harper, John Chamberlin, and Philip Verrin, caught his body in their arms, and laid it on the ground; his body being stripped, they were suffered to put it into a coffin, and bury it where they thought meet; a piece of humanity owing not to the inclinations of the persecutors, but to the outcry of the people against the barbarity used to the dead bodies of two men who were put to death before.

It was at the time when they were passing sentence of death on William Leddra, that Wenlock Christison,

stison, who had been also banished on pain of death, not only returned to Boston, as with his life in his hand, but came openly into the court. His appearance there struck the court with a sudden dismay, so that for some time there was a general silence. But after a while they ordered him to be brought to the bar; and after some conversation the court proceeded to vote as to the sentence of death, to which several of them would not consent: this provoked the governor, who passed sentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be taken back to prison. But before the day appointed for his execution; an order of court was issued for the enlargement of him and twenty-seven others, then in prison for their Christian testimony. The prison doors being set open, the prisoners were, by appointment of the court, driven out of the jurisdiction into the wilderness country, by a guard armed with swords, and there left.

The cessation of these sanguinary proceedings appears to be owing to the general odium of the more moderate part on both sides the Atlantic, against putting men to death for religion.

When the tidings of these executions reached friends in England, they made immediate application to the king, who readily complied with E. Burrough's solicitations, who representing the case as urgent, not knowing how many more might suffer death, in case of delay; orders were immediately given to the secretary of state, to prepare a mandamus to stop their proceedings; and the king, at the instance of E. Burrough, granted a deputation to Sam. Shattock, an inhabitant of New England, (under sentence of banishment on pain of death) to carry it over, who arrived at Boston in about six weeks. On their arrival in the harbour, some of the citizens coming on board to look for letters, at their return to shore, reported that the ship was full

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of Quakers. Next morning Samuel Shattock went on shore, accompanied only by the master of the ship, and produced his commission, with the king's mandamus, to the governor. After this the passengers came ashore, and had a religious meeting with their friends in the town, to return thanksgiving to the Father of Mercies for this deliverance. Not long after, all the Quakers were released from prison by an order from the court of Boston.

## EUROPE and ASIA.

In the year 1655, W. Caton being at Dover, as before related, went over to Calais, where his spirit was burdened in beholding the idolatry of their worship, but he could not ease his spirit by pointing out to them a better way, as he was not master of the French language; and therefore was on the point of returning home without finding any opportunity of service there; yet afterwards it was ordered, that several of the principal inhabitants sought him out, and gave him a favourable hearing at a large house in the town, where a Scotch lord interpreting for him, he cleared his conscience in declaring the doctrines of truth, and then departed without molestation.

Upon his return to Dover he found his companion John Stubbs there, with whom he passed over to Holland, but they found no favourable reception for their ministry at that time.

In 1656, W. Ames, J. Stubbs and W. Caton went to Holland again. At Amsterdam they met with some English people, who received the doctrine they preached, but the impression it made upon them was not lasting. W. Caton travelled to  
Rotter-

Rotterdam, where, for want of an interpreter, he was obliged to deliver himself in Latin. Here he was much troubled in meeting with some unruly persons, who having been partly convinced by W. Ames, went under the name of Quakers, using such extravagancies in their writings and conduct, that the magistrates thought them not unfit objects for imprisonment in Bedlam. The ringleader of these was one Isaac Furnier, a passionate, capricious man, with whom the Quakers could not have unity, although he had translated several of their writings into the Dutch language; at last he joined the Papists, and fell into a dissolute, debauched life.

From Rotterdam W. Caton returned to Amsterdam, but met with very little satisfaction there; for several professors, were ready to approve the doctrine of the Quakers, but were more intent in comprehending it in theory, than reducing it to practice; too wise for instruction, and too full of their own wisdom to receive the truth in the love of it. Amongst such professors seeing little probability of service, he left them, and returned by Rotterdam to Zealand; arriving at Middleburgh in company with a young man, who went to some of their meeting places in that city, he was apprehended. W. Caton hearing of his imprisonment, and going to visit him, was himself detained there some days; but being at that time indisposed, the magistrate ordered them both to be sent to England. In consequence whereof they were conducted, by a guard of soldiers, on board a ship of war, where W. Caton, in his infirm state, suffered great hardship, being obliged to lie upon the bare boards in very cold weather; yet, through the support of Providence, he arrived in London, where he was received with much cordiality by his friends.

Christopher Birkhead went over to France in 1657, and was imprisoned at Rochelle, for advancing

ing some objections against the Romish religion, where he was first examined by the bishop; and some bigotted zealots wanted to have him condemned to the flames, but the criminal judge absolved him. After which, in the beginning of this year, he travelled into Holland, and arriving at Middleburgh, he went to the English congregation there, and after their preacher W. Spank had preached, he thus spake, "Friends, the Apostle sayeth, that we may prophesy one by one; that two or three prophets may speak, and the others judge; and if any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace." This caused a stir in the congregation, and he was apprehended and detained in custody. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> month, 1657, the following charge was exhibited against him.

"The bailiff of the city of Middleburgh demandeth, according to his office, against Christopher Birkhead."

"WHEREAS the said C. Birkhead is a maker of uproars, seditions, and a blasphemmer against the set preachers of the reformed churches,

"Therefore it is demanded, that the ensuing punishments be inflicted on him; first, that he be brought before the Stadthouse, and there be put upon a scaffold and whipped with rods, and burned with the mark of this city of Middleburgh, and for some years to be put in the Rasp-house, and there to rasp and work, the time left to the discretion of the Lords, and afterwards to be banished out of the jurisdiction of these lands."

It is evident that the punishments demanded against this man are quite disproportionate to any just offence he had given, by simply reminding an auditory of the apostolical order established in the worship of the primitive church, as an introduction to what he thought it his duty to declare unto them. The charge and the requisition of punishment

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ment bear the plain marks of passion, injustice and virulence, putting an offender, in so small an instance, on a level with the basest criminals, and incensing the magistrates to inflict on an honest man, for an action simply religious, the severest and most disgraceful punishments the malice of his persecutors could contrive.

The prisoner put in his defence to the charges exhibited against him, wherein he denies and confutes them all.

His defence prevented the inflicting of the more ignominious parts of the demanded punishment; but the magistrates gratified his adversaries so far as to sentence him to be put into the Rasp-house for two years, and then be banished, and pay all the charge. Accordingly he was put into the Rasp-house, and continued there two years, suffering much hardship; and, after the expiration of the time, he was still detained under pretence of fees and other claims made by the keeper, till at length he was set at liberty by the interposition of Heer Newport, ambassador of the States-General in England.

About the same time George Bailey going into France, and zealously testifying against worshipping of images, was cast into prison, and there ended his days.

In this year also George Robinson, a young man of London, found himself concerned to travel to Jerusalem, to bear testimony against the idolatry of pilgrimages: he embarked for Leghorn, and from thence took shipping for St. John d'Acree, so called, formerly Ptolemais in Asia, and from thence continued his course to Joppa, and thence to Ramoth; but the friars at Jerusalem having received intelligence of his approach, procured him to be intercepted and confined. After about twenty-four hours imprisonment, an ancient Turk of reputation took him to his house, and entertained him with civility several days; at length an Irish friar came from



Jerusalem, and informed him that he was sent by his fraternity there, to propose to him three questions: viz.

1. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places, as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay such sums of money as it was customary with pilgrims to pay?

3. Whether he would wear such a habit as pilgrims usually wear?

To which questions the following injunctions were added:

1. Not to speak any thing against the Turkish laws.

2. When he should come to Jerusalem, not to speak any thing about religion.

But, stedfastly refusing to answer their questions, or to submit to their injunctions, he was, by the friar, who had brought with him a guard for that purpose, taken forcibly to Joppa, and there embarked in a vessel, which landed him again at St. John d'Acree; here he was hospitably entertained by a French merchant, by whose assistance, being still under an apprehension of duty to prosecute his journey, he got an opportunity to return to Joppa, and from thence travelled on foot to Ramoth. On the road he fell into the hands of three robbers, who plundered him, but his innocent behaviour moving them to compassion, they returned what they had taken from him, and conducted him a little on his way in a friendly manner. Upon his arrival at Ramoth he was seized by the contrivance of the friars, and forcibly carried into one of the Turkish mosques, it being said to be a custom, that whosoever enters one of their mosques, must either turn Mahometan, or suffer death. He was accordingly asked, whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion. Upon his refusing, and letting them know he could not turn

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to their religion for the world, some of them declared if he did not turn to their religion, he should die; to which replying, he would rather chuse the hard alternative of suffering death than violate his conscience by turning to them, he was delivered to the executioner, who dragged him away to the place, where it was expected he should be burned to death. Here they caused him to sit on the ground. As he sat, resigned in his mind; with inward supplication, Providence interposed for his deliverance; for some Turks having observed that his entrance into the mosque was not voluntary, but by contrivance of the friars to ensnare him, they began to differ in their opinions about him, when a grave ancient Turk came to him, and told him whether he would turn to their religion or not, he should not die. Then being brought before the priests again, and the query put to him, "Will you turn?" and he answering, "No," they recorded in a book, that he was no Roman Catholick, but of another religion; for though he owned himself a Christian, yet his declarations against their superstitions, and the enmity of the friars against him; plainly discovered he was not of their communion. Next, the friars having exerted themselves to incense the Bashaw of Gaza against him, and hoping that by their insinuations they had made him Robinson's enemy, they hired a guard of horsemen to conduct him to Gaza, where he found things had taken an unexpected turn in his favour; for some of the Turks having informed the Bashaw of the malice of the friars, he made them pay a considerable fine, and obliged them to convey him safely to Jerusalem, he was taken into the friars convent.

Here they used every artifice to prevail with him to conform to the superstitious customs of the pilgrims of their communion, saying, that others paid great sums of money to see them, but he should see

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them

them for nothing. But believing his mission was to bear testimony against the superstitious veneration for those places, upheld by the friars for filthy lucre, he stedfastly resisted their solicitations, and alledged that, in visiting those places, in their manner, he should sin against God: that they, under a pretence of doing service to God, in visiting of places where the holy men of God had dwelt, did oppose that way, and resist that life, which the holy men of God walked and lived in; upon which one of the friars said, "What do you preach to *us* for?" To which he answered, that he would have them turn from those evil practices, else the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled against them. This doctrine being highly ungrateful, they insisted upon his paying 25 dollars, under pretence that the Turks must be paid, whether he would visit the usual places or not; but if he would visit them, they should pay for him; but he signified he could not comply with any such unreasonable demands.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who asked him divers questions; to which he returned solid answers: and entering into conversation about the worship of Christians, the Turk asked Robinson what was the cause of his coming to Jerusalem; to which he answered, it was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was manifest in visiting them, his compassionate mercies being such as that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering.

Having borne his testimony against the superstition of the friars, and discharged himself of the message he believed himself sent to deliver, he found, as he declared, great peace of mind. The friars, who had meditated his destruction, were restrained by the authority of the Turks, and obliged to conduct

duct him back to Ramoth. Thus delivered from the hands of his enemies, he returned to his native country.

The concern of Mary Fisher, whose sufferings in New England have been already related, is still more remarkable. Being returned to London, she felt a concern upon her mind, to pay a visit to Sultan Mahomet IV. then encamped with his army near Adrianople. Accordingly she proceeded as far as Smyrna, where she was stopped by the English consul, and sent back to Venice, from whence she made her way by land to Adrianople, being preserved from any abuse through a long journey of five or six hundred miles. Being come thither, she communicated her business to some of the citizens, and requested them to accompany her to the camp; but fearing the Sultan's displeasure, they declined compliance, wherefore she went to the camp alone, and procured intelligence to be given to the Grand Vizier, that there was an English woman who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan; who sent her word that she should speak to him the next morning. She returned to the city that night, and went to the camp at the time appointed, when the Sultan, attended by his officers of state, sent for her, and asked her whether what had been reported to him was fact, that she had a message from the Lord? She answered in the affirmative; upon which he bid her speak on; and as she stood silent, the Sultan, supposing she might be oppressed with awe, to utter herself before them all, asked her whether she desired that any of the company might retire? She answered, Nay; then he desired her to speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it; strictly charging her to speak the word she had to say from the Lord, neither more nor less, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would.

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Upon her speaking, they all gave attention, with much seriousness, till she had concluded, and then the Sultan enquired if she had any more to say. She asked if he understood what she had said. He replied, "Yea, every word;" adding that it was truth, and desired her to stay in the country, for they could not but respect one who had taken pains to come so far with such a message, and offered her a guard to escort her to Constantinople, whither she intended to go; which kind offer she declined, confiding in that divine arm which had brought her thither for her safe conduct home again. He reminded her it was dangerous travelling alone, especially for a woman, and seemed much to admire she had passed safe so far; adding, it was out of respectful concern for her safety he offered her a guard, as he would not for any consideration she should suffer the least injury in his dominions. Then they asked what she thought of their prophet Mahomet. She made a cautious reply, that she knew him not; but she knew Christ, the true prophet, the son of God; who was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; adding, "If the word that the prophet speaketh, cometh to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know the Lord never sent him;" to which they assented; and so she departed for Constantinople, without a guard, where she arrived, without having been injured or interrupted in her journey, and from thence returned to England.

Is not her remarkable preservation in this long and tedious journey an argument of the truth of her mission, and of divine Providence protecting her in the performance of her duty, and in yielding obedience to divine requirings?

## CHAPTER

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 CHAP. IV.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. TO HIS DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE.

THE convulsed state of the nation inciting men of moderation to an earnest wish for some settled form of government, Charles II. was in consequence, in 1660, by the united consent of the other two estates of the nation, (after an exile of 12 years, in which he had suffered many distresses,) through the ordering of Providence, peaceably restored. In this interval the Quakers enjoyed a respite from the sufferings to which they had been for many years exposed; their meetings were large, and held without molestation during the first six months after the King's restoration. At the intercession of M. Fell and others, about 700 Friends were released, who had been imprisoned under the government of O. and R. Cromwell, and an order was drawn up for permitting them the free exercise of their worship: but by some in authority, who disapproved of toleration, the issuing of this order was obstructed, till the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men gave them a pretext to commence oppressive measures. Yet in some parts Friends were greatly molested and abused in their religious meetings. Some inferior magistrates, who still retained inimical dispositions towards this people, continued to be vexatious to them; in particular, Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, (who had been a zealous partisan of the Republicans,) in order to ingratiate himself with the present powers, from a pretended zeal for the King, committed G. Fox to prison. In the course of his travels,

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travels, G. Fox came to Skipton, to a general meeting, which had been several years established there, (before the general establishment of meetings for discipline,) for the purpose of making provision for the poor among them; for many were reduced to poverty by exorbitant fines, distresses, and imprisonments. It had frequently happened, that justices and military officers, coming to break up such meetings, when they saw their books, and accounts of their collections and disbursements, and the care that was taken that one county should help another; instead of executing their purpose, have been obliged to commend their care, and leave them undisturbed in the exercise of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other societies frequently gathering in crowds upon these occasions, partook of their liberality; it being their custom, after the meeting was over, to send for bread, and distribute a loaf to each person who seemed to need one. From this meeting he went over, by Lancaster, to Swarthmore, to the house of M. Fell, who was then a widow; her husband having died about two years before. Two constables, going with a warrant from Henry Porter, took George Fox that night to Ulverston, where they kept him under a guard of 15 or 16 men, some standing centry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage. Next morning they escorted him to Lancaster, exposing him to much contumelious treatment, and brought him before Porter, to whom he complained of the unworthy treatment he had received, but without redress. George then inquired, by what authority he had issued a warrant to take him? To which Porter would give no further satisfaction, than that he had an order, but would not let him see it, for he would not reveal the King's secrets; adding, a prisoner was not to see for what he was committed: G. Fox signified that was not reasonable, for how should he  
make

make his defence? After some discourse, his mittimus was made out, the jailer sent for, and commanded to put him in the dark house. Though bail was offered for his appearance, it was refused; and he was committed close prisoner to Lancaster castle, where he was treated with great incivility, being often debarred provisions, but as he could get them conveyed through a vacancy under the door. He then desired two of his friends to apply to the jailer for a copy of the mittimus, who told them, he could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for a similar offence; but he gave them liberty to read it over. Having thus got the substance of the charges contained in his mittimus, G. Fox thought himself called upon, in vindication of his innocency, to publish an immediate reply to every particular charge, clearly proving them to be false. M. Fell also, considering the forcible entry and searching of her house, and arresting her guest, as a violation of the liberty of the subject, and an injury offered to her, published a brief narrative of his apprehension: and determined to take a journey to London, to solicit the King's protection, and lay the circumstances of G. Fox's imprisonment before him; which, when Porter understood, he went also, with a view to frustrate her endeavours; but when he made his appearance at court, being charged by some of the courtiers with plundering their houses, he thought it safest to make a speedy retreat. M. Fell being joined by Ann Curtis, (whose father had been sheriff of Bristol, and had suffered death for endeavouring to bring in the King,) on whose account they were favourably received, laid the case of G. Fox before the King, requesting his interposition, to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself; which request he readily complied with, and gave command to his secretary to send down an order for his removal. After some hesitation they permitted



mitted him to go without any guard, upon his verbal promise to appear before the judges at Westminster. He accordingly presented himself in the court of King's Bench, being accompanied by R. Hubberthorn, R. Withers, with Esq. Marsh, of the King's bed-chamber. The charge against him was read: no accuser appearing to prove it, he was set at liberty after an unjust and severe imprisonment of more than 20 weeks. His liberty thus obtained, filled his antagonists with vexation and fear; Porter, in particular, was greatly terrified, under the apprehension that G. Fox would avail himself, by law, of the advantage which the temerity and illegality of his injurious treatment had given: and George did not want incitement, even from some in authority, to make him and the rest examples: but he esteeming it his duty as a Christian to forgive injuries, meekly replied, "I shall leave them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them."

It was at this time, that several of the late King's judges were condemned and executed. Amongst the rest who suffered on this occasion, was Col. F. Hacker, who six years before had G. Fox taken prisoner, and sent up to O. Cromwell. In this reverse of fortune he had cause to reflect upon George's parting expressions, when at his bed-side at Whetstone; for, when Margaret Fell visited Col. Hacker in prison a day or two before his execution, he acknowledged that he felt trouble for the manner in which he had treated George Fox.

About this time R. Hubberthorn obtained access to the King, and upon laying before him an account of the sufferings of Friends under the late rulers, and that the like were continued in some part of the nation under his rule; the King entered into a free conversation with him concerning the principles of this people, and was so well satisfied with his

his account thereof, that he expressed his disposition to protect them. Thus encouraged, they seemed to have a prospect of better times than they had experienced since they had been distinguished as a separate society; their meetings were large and quiet, multitudes flocked to them from curiosity or better motives, many were convinced, and their numbers greatly increased. But this calm was of no long duration: for in the Eleventh month, this year, (1660,) an insurrection was made by the Fifth-monarchy-men, under the conduct of one Venner. During the tumult on the 2d of the 11th month, an order of council was issued against the meetings of sectaries: and on the 10th of the same month a proclamation was published, whereby the King forbade the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy-men, to meet together under pretence of worship, except in some parochial church or chapel, or in private houses by persons therein inhabiting. All meetings in any other places were declared to be unlawful, and all mayors, and other peace officers, were commanded to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the sessions. In consequence of this proclamation, the Quakers were again exposed to fresh persecution, abused by the populace, dragged from their employments, their houses ransacked, and their meetings broken up by soldiers; sick men taken out of their beds were carried to prison, one of whom, Thomas Patchen, being in a fever, died there.

G. Fox was still in London, and gives account that all was uproar and tumult: the city and suburbs up in arms; the populace and military exceedingly rude and abusive. Henry Fell, going quietly to a Friend's house, was knocked down by the soldiers, and had been killed, if the Duke of York's passing by had not prevented. George was taken, but soon after, by the interposition of Esq. Marsh,

Marsh, set at liberty. Richard Brown, one of the temporizers of this age, to compensate for his former misconduct, pursued the Quakers with peculiar violence, and committed them to Newgate in such numbers, that they had not room to sit or lie down, nor scarce to stand one by another. There were at one time in that jail\*, of the mayor's own committing, 346 persons, of whom about 100 were crowded together in one room, and divers fell sick, through the smell and closeness of the place; besides these, were several others whom the officers and soldiers had taken without any legal or regular warrant. This persecution was not confined to the city, but, with the proclamation, spread similar violence over all, or most parts of the nation. From their meetings, their habitations and employments, out of their beds in the dead of the night, they were, without conviction or crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison; till in many places, the prisons were crowded with them, almost to the danger of suffocation, by the number stowed together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms. Persecution being thus carried on against a people who had administered no just occasion, who were not in any degree chargeable with the insurrection or sedition; but artfully brought under suspicion, to palliate the designs which were previously determined on; the Quakers, as well as other dissenters, thought it necessary to clear themselves of these groundless surmises, by a public disavowal of all plots and insurrections whatever, in order to prepare the way for application for redress of the injuries, to which, they were unjustly exposed in their persons, reputation, and property. G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn drew up a declaration of their abhorrence of plots, and warring, in order to present it to the King and

\* At that time Newgate was a very small prison.

† See Bessie's Sufferings of the Quakers.

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Council; but when finished and sent to the press, it was there seized: upon which they drew up another, got it printed, sent some copies to the King and Council, and published the rest in their justification to the nation at large. M. Fell waited several times upon the King, to inform him how severely her friends, who were not in the least concerned in insurrection or riot, were treated; several thousands of them through the nation being cast into prison illegally, in consequence of other men's crimes. The King and Council wondered how they gained the intelligence, after the strict orders they had issued to intercept all letters. However, in consequence of her application, and the declaration above mentioned, the King sent out a proclamation, forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable. Afterward, when some of the unhappy insurgents were brought to suffer, they were so just to this injured people, as by their dying testimony to clear them of all guilt; publicly declaring they had no hand in, or knowledge of, their plot. This, with other evidences, and their continued intercessions, prevailed upon the King to issue out a declaration, ordering the Quakers to be set at liberty without paying fees. But yet the populace continued to be vexatious to them, especially in their religious assemblies. After the Quakers were fully cleared of the plot, and all pretences of punishing them on that account were removed, it was not long before they were again persecuted by the revival of old laws, made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, chiefly against popish recusants, but now perverted to the punishment of this people.

In the late general imprisonment, when the innocence of this society appeared so clearly, that there remained no reason to detain them, it was the usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, knowing they would not take any oath, that

that by their refusal they might get a plausible pretext to detain them in prison: On this account many hundreds were imprisoned, from the time of the insurrection, till they were liberated by the King's declaration; but it was not on this occasion only they suffered by this act, for it continued; when other means failed, to supply the malevolence of their adversaries with a pretext to ensnare them. At the assizes of Bedford, on the 15th of March, 1660-1, fifty-two persons, then in prison for refusing the oath of allegiance, were brought before Judge Windham, who ordered the statutes of 35th Elizabeth and 7th James to be read; telling the prisoners, that many of them being but young, might probably be ignorant of the penalties they were liable to for refusing the oath. One of them, in the name of the rest, answered, that the penalties had been fully considered by them; that they thought it their duty actively to obey the laws of the land, when consistent with the law of God, and when otherwise, patiently to submit. That the laws read appeared to them contrary to the precept of Christ, (Matthew v.) which they durst not break. They presented at the same time, to the judge, a paper writing, fully expressing their allegiance, &c. On the next day the oath was tendered to six of the prisoners, who insisted on the illegality of their commitment, having been taken by violence out of their beds, though innocent of the breach of any law. They were interrupted in their defence, the grand jury found the bills of indictment, and returning into the court, one of them was read to the prisoners; who were told, that the others were like unto it; and they were sent back to prison.

About this time (1661) the parliament passed the corporation act, and the act of uniformity, which did not materially affect the Quakers: but it was not long before they were singled out, as victims to  
fresh.

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fresh penal laws, a bill being brought into parliament, entitled, "an act for preventing mischiefs and dangers, that may arise from certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths." The title of the bill mentions only the refusal to take oaths; yet the bill itself enacts, that if five or more Quakers, of 16 years of age or upwards, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship, as well as refusing to take an oath, the party offending shall forfeit, for the first offence, a sum not exceeding 5*l.* or suffer 3 months imprisonment; for the second offence the penalty to be doubled; and for the third, they were to abjure the realm, or be transported. Some of this society in London thought their duty to themselves and their brethren demanded their intercession with parliament to stop its progress. E. Burrough, R. Hubberthorn, and G. Whitehead, attended parliament, to solicit against passing the bill: they were admitted to give their reasons against the act at the bar of the house. But appeals to reason and humanity were vain: the bill passed into a law; in consequence of which, great persecutions and imprisonments ensued. Among those imprisoned upon this act, were the three before-mentioned advocates against the law; E. Burrough, R. Hubberthorn, and G. Whitehead; the two former of whom, with many others, finished their testimony to the truth, by laying down their lives in prison for the conscientious discharge of their duty.

Beside the heavy sufferings from the secular powers, this people were affected with intestine troubles, occasioned by the caprice and vanity of John Perrot. This man had early joined in society with the Quakers, and too early taken upon him the ministerial office: being puffed up with a vain opinion of his own abilities, he must needs go to Rome to convert the Pope; and procuring John Love to accompany

company him, when they arrived at Leghorn they were taken up and examined by the inquisition, when they gave their answers in a manner so satisfactory, as to obtain their dismissal. From thence they went to Venice, and afterwards to Rome, where they had not been long, before they were imprisoned; Love in the inquisition, and Perrot in their hospital for madmen. Love died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of his being murdered. It was reported that he had fasted to death; but it is said, that some nuns confessed that he was privately murdered for testifying against the idolatry of their religion. Perrot lay there some time longer, and during his confinement, wrote some epistles, to be printed in England, in such a fantastical style, as bespoke him scarce found in mind. At length, through the solicitation of friends to some person of interest there, he was released, and returned to England. The report of his sufferings, joined with an appearance of sanctity, gaining him the compassionate esteem of many Friends, his imaginary consequence was increased to that degree, that he thought himself farther enlightened than G. Fox and the rest of his friends; and as an evidence thereof, maintained that the custom of putting off their hats in joining in public prayer, was only a piece of formality, which ought not to be practised without an immediate motion thereto. That regard which the exaggerated report of his sufferings had procured him, and the fondness for novelties natural to many, attached a considerable number of adherents to him, to the introducing disorder and confusion in worship. The next extravagance he adopted, was to let his beard grow, in which he was followed by his partisans. G. Fox and the principal body of Friends, foreseeing the danger of drawing off the mind from a proper attention to the necessary work of inward sanctification,

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into contention about outward observations, exerted their endeavours to prevent the spreading of the deception, which they could not effectually do for some years. Perrot went to America, and his airy unstable notions led him into manifest sensualities, fantastically putting on gaudy apparel, and wearing a sword; and under the pretence of being above forms, went so far at last, as to reckon meeting for worship a form; and by his example and doctrine led many to forsake the assembling themselves together. Having obtained some post under government in America, he who had before professed that Christ had forbidden all swearing, is reported to have distinguished himself as a most rigorous exacter of oaths.

About the time that G. Fox was excited to establish an orderly discipline in the society, (1661,) he felt an impression of duty on his mind to appoint a meeting in London with those who had been seduced by Perrot, to restore them to that unity, which they had broken (in part at least) by their deviation; whereby an end was put to this separation in England.

It was with the commencement of this year, 1662, that the before-mentioned act against the Quakers came in force. One Philip Millar appears to be the first that molested them in London; who, without any legal authority, came to the meeting-house in John's Street with a rabble: he then applied to the constable, and with menaces obliged him to go with him. Of those he ordered to be seized, he selected five, and had them taken before a justice, who committed them to prison. Some days after, he came again to the same meeting place, and because the people assembled would not depart at his command, he struck several of them, and then charged the constable with as many as he thought proper; amongst whom was John Crook, who, before



fore his conviction, had been a justice of peace; being taken before a justice, he took their word to come to him next morning, which they did, when he ordered them before the justices, then sitting at Hicks's Hall, who committed nine of them to Newgate, in order to take their trial at the Old Bailey. On the 25th of June three of them were selected to begin with; John Crook, termed Gentleman, Isaac Grey, Physician, and John Bolton, Goldsmith; men of property and character, who were now ranked with the vilest criminals. Being called to the bar, instead of being charged with any crime, or any indictment upon the late act, the oath of allegiance was repeatedly offered them, which refusing to take, they were sentenced as having incurred a premunire, and remanded to Newgate. Their estates were immediately seized. During their imprisonment, J. Crook drew up a narrative of their trial, and committed it to the press, that the King and nation might not be ignorant of the measures now pursued.

On the 23d of the next month, (as was supposed by an order from the King,) they were set at liberty by the jailer; but two days after, J. Bolton and J. Grey were taken again by the jailer's servants, and carried to prison; (J. Crook being gone to the country, and not to be found;) how long they were detained there, or how or when discharged, we have no account.

In the next month, at the assizes at Worcester, Robert Smith was likewise indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and received the sentence of premunire, under which he lay confined near ten years. About three days after sentence was given, the sheriff made a seizure of his personal estate for the King, and took an inventory to the minutest article.

Thomas

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Thomas Sturdy, being at Carlisle assizes, went to visit some friends in prison there, where he was illegally detained by the jailer; and the next day, he, with Stephen Pearse, then a prisoner, was taken to the sessions house, where the oath of allegiance was tendered to them, which they refusing, were sent back to jail, and had the sentence of premunire passed upon them. Soon after the sheriff seized their corn, cattle, and goods, and proclaimed a public sale of them, at which they were sold far below the value, because few cared to buy them, as esteeming them no better than plunder: however they were disposed of without any regard to the prisoners or their families; (nor would the sheriff allow any thing to the labourers who had been employed in gathering in the corn, and the price of whose labour lay therein, as their employers, now plundered of their all, were disabled from paying them). Under this sentence, they were continued close prisoners several years, enduring their sufferings with exemplary patience.

At the quarter-sessions at Hertford, in October (1662) John King, Richard Thomas, Abraham Rutt, and Henry Sweeting, appeared to answer a process against them, for absence from the national worship, when one of the justices, a counsellor, made an invective against the Quakers and their meetings, as dangerous and formidable, whereupon the bench let the first process stop, and tendered them the oath of allegiance on the first day of the sessions, giving them time till next morning to consider whether they would take it or not; telling them, that if they refused, they would incur a premunire.

Next morning they appeared again, and refusing to take it, were indicted, found guilty, and had sentence of premunire passed upon them. They were returned to prison, and close confined during a sharp

sharp winter, whereby their health was much impaired. An order was issued to the sheriff to seize all their lands, goods, &c. the execution of which was prevented by timely application to the king; and the prisoners, after thirty one weeks imprisonment, were released by the king's warrant.

In Suffex, Ambrose Rigge was committed to prison, indicted the next assizes, tried immediately, and sentence of premunire passed upon him, by which he was adjudged to lose all his lands and tenements during life, his goods and chattels for ever, and suffer imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Under this sentence he was kept in prison 10 years and four months. Among many other cases that might be mentioned, the treatment of Thomas Goodyear and Benjamin Staples, at the quarter sessions at Oxford in the preceding year, demands particular notice. After receiving the sentence of premunire on the like account, Thomas Goodyear, who was brought like a common malefactor with bolts on his legs, asking the court, Whether the jailor had orders to fetter him? was answered, "The jailor may do as he will with you, for you are out of the king's protection." The jailer, encouraged by the example of his superiors, when he brought them back to prison, told the other prisoners, that if they wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law against you: but one of the prisoners humanely answered, he would rather go naked than strip honest men of their clothes, who were stripped of all they had beside. Yet, as if all this were not sufficient to gratify the ill-will of their enemies, it was even attempted at this time to bring their lives into danger. They were not tried upon the late act, but upon that of 35 Eliz. as the severest they could lay hold of; because it gave power to proceed to banishment and to endanger life at once; whereas, by the latter, they could not have

have that power till the third offence. Several persons taken from their religious meetings, and committed to the White Lion prison, Southwark, after about nine weeks imprisonment, were brought to their trial before Richard Onslow, president of the sessions, and others. Their indictment being read, the prisoners desired to be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles; but were answered they might try them by what law they would, that was in force. The prisoners desired the act they were to be tried by might be read (viz. the 35th Eliz.) which was done only in part. Upon their observing, that they accounted themselves unjustly dealt with, in having obsolete laws revived for the mere purpose of subjecting them to the heaviest punishment that could be devised. The answer they received was a requisition to plead to the indictment; and some not being hasty to answer, were haled out of court to prison. The rest, being twenty in number, pleaded not guilty. The jury was called over, and they excepted against two, one of whom was set aside, having openly expressed, his ill-will towards the Quakers. The witnesses testified, that in such a place they took such persons, whose names were specified in writing. In their defence against the facts charged in the indictment, they asserted, that whereas they were accused of being wicked, dangerous, and seditious, that was not true; for they were such as endeavoured to lead a peaceable life in godliness and honesty. For the truth whereof they durst appeal to their judges; and the charge of not coming to hear the common prayer was preposterous, as the service book was not quite printed till several weeks after the said 29th of June mentioned in the indictment. The court was considerably embarrassed by this, and other reasons, advanced by the prisoners, so that the judge was at a loss to answer them. When the jury

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jury went out to consider of their verdict, one of them was heard to say, as they were going up, "here is a great deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men." After some time they returned, and brought in their verdict guilty in part, and not guilty in part; but this verdict would not be accepted; so being sent out again, they returned and declared the prisoners guilty. Whereupon Judge Onslow pronounced the following sentence: That they should return to prison, and there continue three months without bail or mainprize, after which time, if they recanted not, they must abjure the realm, or be proceeded against as felons.

At the same place, on the 11th of November, 13 more of the prisoners were brought to the bar, and indicted as before; five of them pleading not guilty, were tried, convicted, and sentenced as the former; the other eight, seeing the court so partial that a fair hearing could not be expected, refused to plead, and were sent back to prison. Such was the universality of party rage at that time against this people, that they were left unmolested in few parts of the nation. G. Fox in an address to the king, acquainted him that 3068 of their friends had been imprisoned since his restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up, their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, relating that upwards of 4200 Quakers, both men and women were in prison, specifying the number in each county, and upon what account. Many of these had been grievously abused with beatings, tearing their clothes, and taking them away. Some put into noisome prisons, and so crowded that they had not room to sit down; no age nor sex found any commiseration; men of 60, 70, and more years of age were subjected to such rigorous imprisonments. Many times they were forced to lie on the  
ground,

ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died.

In London and its suburbs were no fewer than 500 imprisoned at this time; some in such narrow holes, that every person had scarcely room to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their money and clothes. Many grew sick, and some died. Amongst them were many poor men, whose families were exposed to want, their customers lost, and their trades ruined; about 30 of their friends, who were at liberty, presented a petition to the mayor and sheriffs, offering themselves, if no other means of relief could be found, to lie in prison instead of the sick and the poorest of the prisoners. Those who were at liberty, had but a very precarious enjoyment of it; the soldiers and trained bands, by the encouragement of the magistracy, were let loose upon them. To the meeting distinguished by the name of Bull and Mouth, the soldiers came several first days successively, with muskets, &c. conducted by an officer; they usually entered with violent uproar, commanding the people assembled to be gone; which when they were not hasty to do, they laid on their blows with great force, beating women as well as men, and threatening to fire at them. Many were grievously wounded, some fainted away, and some survived it but a short time. When they had wearied themselves by these acts of violence, they generally added the preacher, (if they found one,) and as many of the hearers as they thought fit, to the number already imprisoned. In the middle of the month called August, the sessions were held again at the Old Bailey, to which numbers of Quakers were brought as malefactors through the streets, sometimes 12, sometimes 20, in a company. Their trials were conducted in the accustomed manner; the bench and jury prepared to

convict them, the witnesses being mostly the officers who had commanded the party that abused them; these witnesses hesitated, and even contradicted themselves: yet such was the temper of the court, that this defective evidence was accepted as sufficient to convict them; upon which they were sentenced in fines, some 100 marks, some 20l. and others in less sums, and committed again till they should pay the fines. Against several no evidence appeared, yet they were sent back to prison with the rest.

It was not long before they met with an unexpected release, for the King was pleased to grant them a general amnesty, by an order to the mayor, in pursuance of which, all who had been committed by Sir Richard Brown and others, were released; and the jails of London and Middlesex almost entirely cleared of Quakers, a few only excepted: but in a short time they were filled again, for the King's mandate for their release gave little or no interruption to the persecuting measures carried on against them—their meetings continued to be disturbed, even with an additional degree of violence. The very next day after the publication of the King's letter, the meeting at Wheeler Street was broken up in the same abusive manner, and nine persons taken and sent to New Prison, whence, after a detention of twelve days, they were released. The same day Sir Richard Brown, in company with some military officers, meeting a person in the street going about his lawful occasions, who had been discharged from Newgate the day before by the King's letter, called out, "There's a Quaker; take him up and carry him to the Counter;" which, by his attendants, was accordingly done; and he, thus arbitrarily committed, was detained for some time.

On the last day of August, when the meeting at Bull and Mouth was near breaking up, Major General

neral Brown, with a party of men, entered the meeting house, with their swords drawn, in a manner rude and terrifying beyond expression, and ordering the doors to be made fast, fell upon the assembly, without regard to age or sex; six or eight together being knocked down, were dragged out, and lay in the kennels, senseless, helpless, and seemingly half dead, with the wounds and bruises they had received. Some of the passengers compassionating this abuse of unoffending people, felt their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked why they could be so cruel to their neighbours, one of them answered, "Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill;" and that his musket was double charged, as most of those of the party were, to his knowledge. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, many were so disabled, as to keep their beds some time. One man was so wounded in the head, that his brains were said to be visible; and being immediately taken to a surgeon, his life was thought to be in the utmost danger: and one John Trowell, actually dying by the wounds and bruises he received there, it was judged expedient that his dead body should be conveyed to the meeting room at Bull and Mouth, (where he received the violence which occasioned his death,) for public inspection. The coroner being called, empannelled a jury, who viewed the body, with a surgeon or two attending them. In the confused croud, the particular men who murdered him, could not be pointed out—the jury desired his friends to inter the corps, and departed without bringing in a verdict, alledging, as their reason, that if they brought in a verdict for wilful murder, and the murderer could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine; the verdict was therefore suspended, and the business dropped. An account of that day's barbarity, and this person's murder, was presented



sent to the King by one of those called Quakers, to whom the King expressed, "I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." The mayor was by letter duly apprized of this transaction; but giving no redress, the said letter, with a narrative of these abuses, was published, for which the author was committed to Newgate, by Brown, for dispersing scandalous papers, as he was pleased to call them.

For about six weeks the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed: the death of the murdered man, the apprehension of trouble which might have followed, and the public censure of their inhumanity, having, probably, damped the ardour of these persecuting magistrates for the present; who nevertheless soon returned to a repetition of the same practices, and continued therein to near the end of this year.

By which time no less than twenty persons died prisoners in Newgate, and seven more, soon after their discharge, by sickness contracted there; amongst those who died there, were Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough, whose loss was very sensibly felt by their friends.

Richard Hubberthorn had his birth in the northern part of Lancashire, being the only son of a yeoman of good repute in that country. From his youth, he was inclined to virtue. Being arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for promoting righteousness, preached occasionally to the soldiers and others. But entering into the society of the Quakers, he quitted his military employment.

His bodily presence promised little, being a man of low stature, infirm constitution, and weak voice. Notwithstanding, he was an able and successful minister

nister of the gospel; travelling in different parts of the nation in the exercise of his ministry, mostly for the space of nine years: great numbers were brought over to the same faith and practice, which he preached, and became as seals to the efficacy of his ministry.

Though he was the man that, having obtained access to the King, was admitted to a free conference with him, in which he gave him such satisfaction, as to the principles and practice of his friends, that he received the royal assurance of protection from suffering for the whole society, while they lived peaceably: yet this promise was violated, as well in reference to his own person, as to the society in general. For in the month called June, he was haled with violence from the meeting at Bull and Mouth, and carried before Alderman Brown, who, indulging his passion as usual, pulled him down by the hat with such fury, that he brought his head almost to the ground. He then committed him to Newgate, where the throng was so great, and the air so vitiated, as soon overpowered his infirm constitution.

The day before he died, he asked for the mistress of the house, to whom he said, "This night or tomorrow I shall depart hence." In the evening of the next day, the 17th of 6th month, 1662, he finished his course in this life, in a frame of mind well prepared for an entrance into a better.

Edward Burrough was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their virtuous conduct, who were possessed of competent substance to give him a good education in such learning as the country afforded.

He was brought up by his parents in the episcopal way of worship; but at the age of twelve years he began at times to frequent the meetings of the

Presbyterians, and continued his attendance of their meetings till about the 17th year of his age.

At the time when George Fox first came into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and yielding to the conviction of truth, he was not discouraged from entering into society with the Quakers; though for this he was rejected by his relations, and expelled from his father's house, which hardship, with many others he was afterwards exposed to, he bore with exemplary patience, and continued stedfast to the last in the doctrines and principles of truth. He was an eminent minister of the gospel, and his personal conduct gave efficacy to his ministry; he lived himself as he advised others to live; viz. in the fear of his Maker.

On a visit to his friends in Bristol, in taking leave of them, he said, "he did not know he should see their faces any more," and therefore "he exhorted them to faithfulness and stedfastness in that wherein they found rest to their souls." And to some he said, "I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place."

Not long after he attended the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where, as he was concerned in his ministry, he was violently pulled down by soldiers, and taken before Alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine: which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, unless released by the King.

Being immured in the same prison with six or seven score of his friends, crowded so many in one room, as was even suffocating, many of them grew sick and died, of which number he was one. And though a special order from the King was sent to the sheriffs, for his release, and that of some other  
prisoners,

prisoners, yet such was the implacable enmity of some of the city magistrates, especially Brown, that they exerted themselves to prevent the execution of this order, and found means to effect it.

The morning before his departure, he said, "Now my soul and spirit is centered into its own being with God, and this form of person must return from whence it was taken;" and after a little time expired, the 14th of the month called February, in the prime of life, being in the 28th year of his age, having been a zealous preacher of righteousness about ten years.

William Ames died in the latter end of this year at Amsterdam. As soon as the last act against conventicles came in force, when some of this people were seen to enter a house, though only on a private visit to their friends, they were pursued by musketeers, without legal authority; and even doors of private dwellings were broken open, under pretence of detecting their meetings; and where they found five together, upon whatever business or occasion, it was deemed a conventicle. It happened that two of these musketeers, Thomas and John Herbert, with other associates, entering a house according to their custom with drawn swords, found there Samuel Fisher, William Ames, and three more, whom they immediately took prisoners, and being asked for a warrant, holding up their swords, replied, "Do not ask *us* for a *warrant*, *this* is *our* warrant." They immediately forced them to Paul's yard, where they were abused by the soldiers, and afterwards taken before Richard Brown, who sent them to Bridewell, where they were required to beat hemp, and treated so severely that William Ames grew dangerously ill, but being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, he was discharged, for fear of his dying in prison. He soon returned to the place of his residence, in

a weak state of health, from which he never recovered.

William Ames first entered into society with the Baptists, and became a teacher among them. He had been also a military officer in Cromwell's army in Ireland.

About this time Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough coming into Ireland, he went to hear them, and not only joined in profession with the Quakers, but in time became a zealous preacher amongst them, and travelled in the work of the ministry, not only in England, but much in Holland and Germany, where several were convinced by him, especially in the Palatinate; and these Palatines removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened not long after: at last he settled at Amsterdam, where he supported himself by wool-combing, and there he died.

Samuel Fisher and the rest committed with him, at the end of six weeks, were brought to the sessions at the Old Bailey, (not to trial, for they had no charge against them,) but to be involved in the breach of law, by tendering the oath of allegiance. They desired the act might be read, by virtue whereof the oath was required of them. This was promised by the court; yet, instead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not allow the law imposing it to be read. Before the prisoners had declared their refusal, they were ordered to be taken away, which the officers did with such rudeness, that they threw some of them down upon the stones; and thus, instead of being freed from their illegal imprisonment, they were committed to Newgate.

The relation of the unjust measures pursued in this year of persecution we have confined mostly to the city of London; yet these or the like proceedings

ings were too generally carried on in the different counties.

We meet with few instances of sufferings in the metropolis in the year 1663, in comparison of those related in the year before; yet they did not remain quite unmolested, for Sir J. Robinson succeeding R. Brown in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull and Mouth meeting-house. Being thus shut out, they met in the street, as near to the door as possible, and there stayed the usual time of their meeting. When any one preached or prayed, they were generally haled away to prison. One first day the mayor with his officers and the sheriffs coming thither, and the people not dispersing at his command, he gave orders to his officers to strike, who immediately, with canes and sticks, dealt their blows unmercifully on the heads of both men and women. The mayor himself also struck several, and spurred on his horse to ride over them, to avoid which the horse reared himself on his hind legs, whereby his rider fell off backward into the kennel, and being helped up again, was preparing to repeat his abuses, had not the sheriffs, who were more moderate, persuaded him to depart.

In this year was a grievous persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. William Moore, then mayor, came several times to their meetings, and after having dispersed them, sent many to prison. This method proving ineffectual, a party of the county troops were employed to go to the meeting, where they beat some and carried others to prison, having first broken the seats and windows of the meeting-house. Being kept out of the house, they met in the street, sometimes in the cold and rain. Thus they continued, meeting constantly twice a week, till a troop of horse, just come to town, armed with swords, carbines, &c. rode in furiously

among them, beating and bruising many, chasing them to and fro in the streets; they also committed several to prison.

On the 13th of December the troopers came again, having added great clubs to their former weapons, with which they knocked down many in the streets, where some lay as dead, and many were so disabled that they could not dress or feed themselves for several years. Remarkable was the patience and meekness of one of the sufferers, who when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it up and gave it him, saying, "I will give it thee up again: I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge." After they had dispersed the meeting, four troopers met a poor sickly man about a quarter of a mile from the meeting place, and riding up to him, asked him "Whether he was a Quaker?" He not denying it, they beat him so that the spectators thought he would have died on the spot; he was disabled from getting his bread or providing for his family a long time after.

On the 27th of the same month thirty-eight of these troopers came riding among the Friends, who were met in the street, and so cruelly beat them, as moved compassion and tears in the standers-by. As the soldiers forced some away by violence, they drove them upon others of their comrades, who beat them with clubs till the flesh of some became like jelly, their blood for the present stagnated, and their limbs were deprived of use.

On the 3d of the month called January, many Friends being met at the usual place, the soldiers fell furiously upon them, knocking down several, one of whom they abused in such a manner, that it was doubted whether one of his arms would ever recover its use. Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, was so grievously beaten that he lost much blood;  
his

his wife, fearing lest he should be killed, fell down upon him, to protect him from their blows, many of which she received on her own body. Edward Grant, father of Fromantle's wife, about seventy years of age, was knocked down, and survived the blow but a few days. On the sixth of the same month the soldiers had put into their clubs iron spikes, sharpened with a file, with which they wounded many, and jeered them when they started or flinched at the pain; among the rest they wounded an ancient woman in twelve several places. After this, finding the constancy of the sufferers invincible, they began to abate their violence, so that there was a calm for two or three weeks, till the mayor and recorder pushed them on again to act as before.

These appear the principal sufferings in the city and neighbourhood on record in this year, but an incident in the summer thereof, in which the Friends had no concern, involved many of them in great trouble, by cruel and long imprisonments. The king and queen making a progress into the western counties, during their absence rumours of a conspiracy were set on foot, said to be formed in the north among the republicans and separatists, to seize several towns, and raise a general insurrection.

At this time George Fox was travelling in Yorkshire, where, when he first heard of this plot, in order to exculpate himself and friends, and preserve them stedfast in their peaceable principle, he was concerned to write a paper, as his testimony against all conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends not to intermeddle in any of these commotions; copies of which he dispersed through the northern counties, and also sent one to the king and council. Notwithstanding these precautions, he was soon subjected to a rigorous imprisonment, a pretended occasion



occasion being taken against him on account of this plot.

In Cumberland the magistrates had offered a crown or a noble a day to any of the peace-officers that could apprehend the speakers among the Quakers; but at the time of his passing through that part they were gone to the sessions to receive their wages, by which means he passed on into Westmoreland unmolested, where he was in jeopardy still, justice Fleming having in open sessions offered five pounds to any man that should take him. When he came forward to Swathmore, he was informed that Colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant to search the house for him, and that he had been so particular in his scrutiny, as to inspect the trunks and chests.

Upon this intelligence, he resolved to face his pursuers. Accordingly he went the next day to Col. Kirby's house, where he found several gentry on a visit, and amongst them Justice Fleming. He addressed himself to Kirby, that, understanding he was desirous to see him, he paid him this visit, to know what he had to say to him, or whether he had any thing against him; to which Kirby replied he had not. But, said he, Mrs. Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, being contrary to law. At parting he shook him by the hand, and repeated that he had nothing against him; but notwithstanding his apparent civility, it was understood that he left instructions with the other justices to prosecute him.

A short time after there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Holker-hall, the seat of Justice Preston, where they granted a warrant to apprehend him. Of this transaction, secret as they thought it, he received intelligence, time enough to have withdrawn out of their reach. But considering that during this noise of a plot in these parts,

parts, although he had no meeting appointed, and was clear as to his service, yet if he should go away, it might give an advantage to his adversaries to represent his retreat as a symptom of guilt, and thence take occasion to fall with additional severity upon his friends; as, on the contrary, if he surrendered himself into their hands, his friends might come off the better; on these considerations he determined quietly to abide the consequence, and was apprehended the next day, and brought before the justices Rawlinson and Preston, and Sir George Middleton at Holker-hall, by whom being examined, and clearing himself of the plot, as they had no evidence for committing him upon that account, they resorted to the accustomed snare of tendering him the oath of allegiance, and were, upon his declining it, about making his mittimus; but upon further consideration, they contented themselves with his engaging to appear at the sessions, and so dismissed him.

In consequence of his engagement, he appeared at the sessions at Lancaster; where he was enquired of what he knew of the plot? He told the justices he heard of it in Yorkshire by a friend, who had it from the high sheriff. They then asked him, whether he had declared it to the magistrates? He informed them of the aforementioned paper, which he had sent abroad, and had also sent to them, as soon as he came into the country, to remove all occasions of jealousy concerning him and his friends. Then they went upon the act against meetings: but upon these subjects, finding no grounds to effect their purpose of committing him to prison, they had recourse to the usual means of crimination, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and committed him to prison, in a very incommodious room in Lancaster castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes

1665;

1665; after that removed to Scarborough castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to get his case laid before the king, he soon obtained his release, after an imprisonment of more than three years.

About a month after George Fox's commitment, Margaret Fell was sent for by the same justices to Ulverstone, and questioned about keeping meetings at her house, at which they seemed to be much offended, and insisted upon tendering her the oath of allegiance: In answer, she remarked, that "they know she could not swear, and why should they send for her, from her own house and her lawful affairs, to ensnare her;" adding, "what have I done?" This expostulation made an impression on them so far, that they told her, "if she would not keep meetings at her house they would not tender her the oath." To this proposal, she replied, "She should not deny her faith and principles, for any thing they could do against her, and while it shall please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavour to worship him in it." Upon this they tendered her the oath, and upon her refusal, committed her to Lancaster castle; which prison was at that time quite crowded with the numbers of this people imprisoned there, some for meeting together, and some for refusing to swear. Many of them were poor men, whose families depending on their daily labour for subsistence, were in danger of perishing, if the affectionate care of their friends had not been exerted to prevent it.

About the same time Francis Howgill being in the market-place at Kendal, upon his lawful occasions, was summoned by the high constable, to appear before the justices then sitting at a tavern: whither when he came, they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and because he declined compliance, they immediately committed him to prison till the summer

summer assizes, to be held in the next month in Appleby: being brought thither, the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refusal, an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversing, had liberty till next assizes to answer thereto. Being required to enter into bond for his good behaviour, which he declining to do, they recommitted him to prison; from whence he was not released, till it pleased Providence by his death to remove him beyond the reach of unmerciful men.

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THE FIGHTING SAILOR BECOMES A PEACEABLE CHRISTIAN.

PASSING by the other persecutions\* of this year 1663, we relate one remarkable case, where patience triumphed over violence; first reverting to some singular occurrences, accompanying the chief actor, Thomas Luring, who had been boatswain's mate in a man of war. Being once at the Canary Islands, under Admiral Blake, he and seven men were sent with a pinnace to destroy three galleons in the bay; which was executed by setting one of them on fire, and that burnt the others. Passing by a breast-work, they received a volley of small shot, by which two men, close to one of whom Thomas sat, were killed and a third wounded in the back. Going out of the bay, they passed within about four ships lengths of the castle, which had forty guns, some of which were fired at the pinnace, and a shot cut the bolt-rope a little above Thomas's head without hurting him.

\* William Sewell says, "All which I believe my life-time would not be sufficient to describe circumstantially."

About

About the year 1654 there was a foldier in the ſhip who had been at a meeting of thoſe called Quakers, in Scotland; there were two young men in the ſhip who had frequently converſed with him, but he was ſoon removed therefrom: yet the two young men were under ſome convincement; for, about ſix months after they ſcrupled to go and hear the prieſt, or to put off their hats to the captain; for which they were called Quakers. Theſe two met often together in ſilence, which being ſeen by others, their numbers increaſed: this troubled the captain, and the prieſt grew angry: who addreſſing Thomas, ſaid, "O Thomas, an honeſt man, and a good chriſtian; here is a dangerous people on board, viz. the Quakers, a blaſphemous people, denying the ordinances and word of God."

On hearing this, Thomas became ſo furious, that in miſtaken zeal, he beat and abuſed theſe men when religiously met together. But this was not the way to have a quiet and ſedate mind, which he much deſired; for the remembrance of his former deliverances ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that he could no more beat any of the ſaid people: and then he ſaw what the prieſt was; for when Thomas could no longer abuſe them, then he was not accounted by him either, "an honeſt man or a good chriſtian."

Among thoſe called Quakers in the ſhip was one Roger Denis, whom Thomas loved and feared, to that degree, that looking only upon him, he durſt not touch any of thoſe whom he intended to have abuſed. In this ſtate feeling no peace of mind, and after much reaſoning, he came to this reſolution; whether Quaker or no, I am for peace with God. Yet it coſt him many a ſigh and many a tear before he could come to a full reſignation. At length he opened his heart to his friend Dennis, who ſpoke ſo much to the purpoſe, that Thomas found great ſatisfaction.

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The first day of the week being come, he resolved to go to the small meeting, which was six in number: when it was reported that he was among the Quakers, many of the ship's company left their place of worship to see him, and made a great noise.

The captain required the reason of the uproar, and on being told the cause, after the meeting was over he sent for Thomas, there being several officers also present: the first who spoke was the priest, and the captain joining with him, endeavoured to prove that the Quakers were no Christians. Thomas was still and quiet: when the others finding they could not prevail over him by fair argument, had recourse to false reports, and his mind was the more strengthened towards his friends; to whom he said, "When I went to the captain I was scarce half a Quaker, but by their lies and false reports they have made me almost a whole Quaker; or at least I hope to be one."

He continued to meet with his friends for performing of worship, so that in about six months their number increased to twelve men and two boys, one of which was the priest's: at this time none on board would abuse them except the captain, who caused some men from other ships to vex them. At length there was a sickness in the ship, by which forty persons died in a short time, most of those called Quakers had the distemper also, but none died of it: the great care they took of one another when sick being noticed by others, caused some of them to cry out when near their end, "O carry me to the Quakers, for they take great care one of another, and they will take some care of me also." This visitation in the ship changed the captain so much that he was very kind to Thomas, and granted him a small cabin, which he and his friends used for a meeting place. The captain had  
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now great confidence in Thomas and his friends; for as yet they were not against fighting, though when with others they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder: so that the captain would say to other captains, that "he cared not if all his men were Quakers." Though this was a time of liberty, Thomas saw that the friendship of the captain was but to serve his own ends, and therefore expected a time of trial would come, and so it did; for being at Leghorn they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spanish man of war. Their situation was to batter a castle; from one corner of which shot were fired into the ship; Thomas was for beating down that part; and those called Quakers fought with as much courage as any: going into the fore-castle, he levelled the guns, but said, "Fire not, till I go out to see where the shot lights, that we may level higher or lower." But as he was going to see where the shot fell, suddenly a query ran through his mind, "What if now thou killest a man?" This struck him very forcibly, and he that can turn all men's hearts at his pleasure, changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas just before he bent all his strength to kill men, he now found no will thereto, though it were to gain the world, believing it was from the Lord; then putting on his clothes, he walked on the deck, as if he had not seen a gun fired: being under great exercise of mind, some enquired if he was hurt? He answered, "No, but under some scruple of conscience on the account of fighting." Though at that time he knew not that the Quakers refused to fight.

When night came, being out of the reach of the castle shot, he took occasion to speak to two of his friends in the ship, and enquired their judgement concerning fighting: who gave little answer to it, saying, "If the Lord sent them well home, they

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they would never go to it again." To which he returned, "That if he stood honest to that of God in his own conscience, and they came to it tomorrow, with the Lord's assistance he would bear his testimony against it." The next day they heard that several were killed on shore, which grieved Thomas not a little. Some time after one of Thomas's friends went to the captain to be cleared, and he asked, "Why?" the answer was, that "he could fight no longer." To which the captain said, "He that denies to fight in time of engagement, I will put my sword in his guts." Then said the other, "Thou wilt be a man slayer, and guilty of shedding blood." For which the captain, who was a Baptist preacher) beat him sorely with his fist and cane.

Some time after, being at Leghorn, (1655,) they were ordered on a cruize, one morning a large ship hove in sight, and bore down upon them; this they supposed to be a Spanish man of war, and orders were given to clear ship for fighting.

Thomas was then upon deck, and saw that a time of trial was come, he prayed earnestly for strength to be faithful; and collecting his friends together, he told them how it was with him; yet "his hopes were that the Lord would deliver him and all such as were of his faith;" adding, "I lay not this as an injunction upon any one, but leave you all to the Lord.—I must tell you, that the captain puts great confidence in you; therefore let us be careful that we give him no just occasion; and all that are of my mind let us meet in the most public place upon the deck, that he may not say we deceived him, in not telling him that we could not fight, so that he might have put others in our room." Then Thomas went upon the deck, and set his back against the geer-capstan, and a little after turning his head, he saw his friends behind him;  
at



at which, though he rejoiced, yet his bowels rolled within him, on account of his friends who stood as sheep for the slaughter. Within a little time came the lieutenant, and said to one of them; "Go down to thy quarters;" to which he returned, "I can fight no more." The lieutenant then went to the captain and said, "Yonder the Quakers are all together; I do not know but they will mutiny, and one says he cannot fight." The captain enquired the name of him who had said so, came down to him, flung his hat over board, and taking hold of his collar, beat him with a great cane, then dragged him down to his quarters: then he went again upon the half deck, and called for his sword, which his man having brought to him, he drew with great fury. At this time, the word of the Lord (as Thomas took it to be) sounded in his mind, "The sword of the Lord is over him, and if he will have a sacrifice, proffer it him." This word was so powerful in him, that he quivered and shook, though he endeavoured to stop it, lest it should be thought he was afraid, which he was not; for turning his head over his shoulder, he said to his friend Robert Denis, "I must go to the captain;" to which he returned, "Be well satisfied in what thou doest." Thomas replied, "There was a necessity upon him." Then seeing the captain coming on with his drawn sword, he fixed his eye with great seriousness upon him, and in the fear of the Lord stepped towards him. At this the captain's countenance changed pale, turning himself about, he called to his man to take away his sword, and went away.

Shortly after, the ship they expected to fight withal, proved to be a Genoese, their friend. Before night the captain sent the priest to Thomas to excuse his anger, it having been in his passion: to which Thomas answered, "I have nothing but good will towards him," desiring the priest to tell the

the captain, "that he must have a care of such passions, for if he killed a man in his passion, he might seek for repentance, and not find it." Nothing material happened while he was on board this ship, which came home safe. Afterwards he went to sea in a merchantman or trading ship, at several times he was pressed for the king's service, and carried on board of men of war, where he met with several rude occurrences and suffered much: once he fasted five days, taking only at times a draught of water; for, refusing to do any kind of work on board a man of war, he did not chuse to partake of their victuals. Being once at Harwich, heaving corn from a ship into a lighter, he was pressed, but one of the company saying that he was a Quaker, the captain who was come on board, said scoffingly, "If thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting upon the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not be toiling thy body," (for Thomas was stripped to his shirt and drawers, and warm with working;) after being a little time silent, he said to the captain, "I perceive thou hast read some part of the scriptures; didst thou never read that he is worse than an infidel that will not provide for his family? I have often heard the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the first I ever heard blame them for working:" at this the captain said, "Turn him away, he is a Quaker!" but a little time after he said, "Pull him again, he is no Quaker." Then addressing Thomas, he said, "Thou art no Quaker, for here thou bringest corn, and of it bread is made, by the strength of that bread we kill the Dutch, and therefore no Quaker: or art not thou as accessary to their deaths as we? answer me." After a pause, Thomas said, "I can feed my enemies, and well may I you, who pretend to be my friends." To which the captain replied, "Turn him away, he is a Quaker:" and then they left him.

A few

A few days after he was again pressed out of the same vessel, and carried on board a man of war; there he was ordered before the captain, several officers being present: the captain began to abuse the Quakers, telling Thomas, "If he did not hang him, he would carry him to the duke of York, and he would." Thomas said very little, but felt himself kept from fear. When the captain had tired himself with scolding and railing, he said more mildly, "What! dost thou say nothing for thyself?" to which Thomas replied, "Thou sayest enough for thee and me too." Notwithstanding the haughtiness of this captain, he was soon struck by a superior power, for the next night a sudden cry was heard, "Where is the Quaker? Where is the Quaker?" Thomas hearing this, said, "Here I am, what do you want at this time of night?" upon which it was told him, you must come to the captain presently: on his coming to the cabin door, the captain said, "Is the Quaker there?" to which Thomas answered, "Yes;" the captain then said, "I cannot sleep, thou must go on shore;" and he was accordingly put on shore at Harwich.

In the year 1663, George Pattison coming from Venice in his ship, was chased by a pirate of Algiers; endeavouring to escape, they carried too much sail, part of their materials gave way; the Turks came up with them, and ordered the master on board; who went in his boat with four men, leaving only his mate, Thomas Lurting, with three men and a boy on board his vessel. The mate was under great exercise of mind; however, believing it was told him inwardly by the Lord, "thou shalt not go to Algiers," he had from former experience of deliverances, learnt to trust in God almost against hope: all fear was removed from him, and he received the Turks on board as if they were his friends, shewed them all the parts of the vessel, and what she was laden with.

with. Shortly after, at a convenient time, he said to the men, "Be not afraid, for all this we shall not go to Algiers; but let me desire you, as ye have been willing to obey me, to be as willing to obey the Turks." This they promised him to do, so that the Turks, seeing the seamen's diligence, grew the more careless; and having taken some small matter of the lading, some went again to their own ship and eight Turks staid with the English.

The master and men were soon after sent on board from the Turks, then all fear was taken away from the mate concerning going to Algiers: he renewed his request to the men to be ordered by him, and said, "What if we should overcome the Turks, and go to Majorca!" At which they rejoiced: one said, "I will kill one or two," and others spoke in like manner; but at this he was troubled, saying, "If I knew that any of you would touch a Turk at that rate, I would tell it to the Turks myself: but," said he, "if ye will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will be still:" on hearing this, they agreed to obey him. After some reasoning with the master, who was fearful of spilling blood, he agreed to let Thomas Lurting act as he would.

The weather becoming hazy, they lost sight of the Turkish man of war; the second night after which, the captain of the prize and one of his companions were asleep in the cabin with the master, the mate persuaded one to go to sleep in his cabin; about an hour after another went to sleep in another cabin, and at last it raining very much, he persuaded them all to lie down and sleep, then he got their arms into his possession; this being done, he told the men, "Now we have the Turks at our command, no man shall hurt any of them, for if you do, I will be against you: but this we will do, now they are under deck, we will keep them so, and go for Majorca; towards which place the wind blew fair, and in the morning they were near to it. He then ordered

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dered

dered his men, if any offered to come up, not to let more than one or two out at a time. When one came out, he was much surprized to see Majorca; then said the mate to his men, "Be careful of the door, for when he goes in, we shall see what they will do; but have a care not to spill blood." The Turk being gone down, told his comrades what he had seen; who, instead of rising, all fell a crying, for their courage was quite gone; and they begged that they might not be sold: the mate promised that they should not; and when they were a little appeased, he went to the master in the cabin, who knew nothing of what was done, and gave him an account of the change. The captain of the Turks wept, and begged he might not be sold: the master assured him that he should not, and proposed to make a secret place in the vessel to conceal them in, that the Spaniards coming on board might not find them; at which the Turks greatly rejoiced. The master having finished his business at Majorca, omitted to take a licence, lest the Spaniards coming on board should see the Turks; but the captain of an English ship, then in the harbour, visiting Pattison's vessel, and being told what was done, though he promised silence on the subject, (because he was refused two or three of the Turks; whom he desired to have, with an intention to sell them,) when he went on shore he told the Spaniards the whole affair. Upon this, Pattison and his mate desired the Turks to assist them in getting out to sea, lest the Spaniards should come, as they had threatened to do, and take away the Turks.—Waiting for a fair wind several days, the Turks attempted to rise, but were prevented without hurting any of them. At length the master and mate concluded to go for the coast of Barbary, as most likely to avoid the Algerine men of war; so that in the day time they were going for Algiers, but in the night they steered

steered for the coast of Barbary, by which means they kept the Turks ignorant and quiet.

On the ninth day the Turks were all on deck, with only the master, his mate, and the man at the helm; when the former began to be so haughty and untoward, that the mate feared they might seize the master, and throw him overboard; but recollecting himself, he stamped with his foot, and the men came up, and were about to fall on the Turks in a desperate manner, when the mate forbade them. After hearing the Turks threaten the master, he laid hold of their captain, telling him, "he must go down:" which he did very quietly, and his men followed him.

Two days afterwards, being within six miles of land, and, as the Turks said, about fifty from Algiers, it fell calm: they were in a great strait how to put the Turks on shore; fearing, if they carried only a part, they might, when landed, alarm the country, and come down armed to retake the ship. At length the mate said, "if the master would let him have the boat, and three men to go with him, he would venture to put the Turks on shore." After consideration, the master consented, though not without dropping some tears on both sides; the mate saying, "I have nothing but good will in venturing my life; trusting that all will do well, I have not the least fear upon me." He then called up the Turks, and going into the boat with two men and a boy, placed their captain in the boat's stern; then calling for another, he placed him in his lap; then one on each side, and two more in their laps, until he had placed them all; thus situated, they could not easily rise: seating himself in the bow, with a boat-hook in his hand, having next to him one of the shipmen, two others rowed. A carpenter's adze and a cooper's leading knife were

all the arms they had, except what belonged to the Turks, which were under the command of the mate and his companions. „Coming very near to the shore, one of the men, being afraid, suddenly cried out, “There are Turks in the bushes on shore!” The Turks in the boat attempted to rise, when the mate told his men “to take up such arms as they had, but to do nothing until he gave them leave.” Seeing no men in the bushes on shore, and thinking it better to strike a man than to cleave his head, he struck the captain a smart blow with the boat-hook, bidding him sit down, which he did, and those who had risen followed his example. When the boat was come so near to the shore, that they could easily wade, the mate ordered the Turks out of the boat; giving them some loaves, and other necessaries, as they were several miles from any town. As the Turks were wading to the land, the boat approached it at another part, and then the English threw the arms, and whatever else they had belonging to the Turks, on shore.

After endeavouring to persuade the Englishmen to go on shore, promising to treat them well at the first town they came to, but without success, they took leave with signs of great kindness, and ascended a hill, on the top of which they waved their hands at the English, and joyfully took their last farewell. Thus Thomas Lurting, with the boat, returned to the ship, and with a fair wind, returned safe to England. As the ship came up the river Thames, the King, with the Duke of York, &c. being at Greenwich, they were informed in part of what had passed between the English and the Turks: the King went with his barge to the ship's side, and held the entering rope in his hand, whilst the mate related to him the particulars of what had happened. When he heard that the  
Turks

Turks went free, he said to the master, "You have done like a fool, you might have had good gain for them." To the mate he said, "You should have brought the Turks to me;" the mate answering, "I thought it better for them to be in their own country;" at which the King and his company smiled and went away.

These men made it appear that they not only approved the lesson of our Saviour, "Love your enemies, and do good to those that hate you," but they also put it into practice.

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## C H A P. V.

### PERSECUTIONS IN NEW ENGLAND CONTINUED.

**T**HOUGH the government of New England was restrained from putting the Quakers to death and granted them liberty for a while, it lasted not long. The disposition of the magistrates was still the same.

In 1662, Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose, and Anne Coleman, came under a religious concern to visit their friends about Piscataqua river. They had not been long there, before Rayner, a priest of Dover, excited the magistrates to persecute them. He brought them before Walden, a deputy magistrate, who telling them of the law they had to punish them, Mary Tomkins answered, "So there was a law that Daniel should not pray to his God." He replied, "Yes, and Daniel suffered, and so shall you." Also when A. Ambrose said, "Her name was written in the Lamb's book of Life," he answered, "Nobody here knows that book, and for this you shall suffer." On this occasion the priest



supplying the place of a clerk, formed for him a warrant or order\*.

This order was executed at Dover, while the priest stood by and laughed; for which cruel levity Eliakim Wardel and William Fourbush reprov'd him; when the magistrate caus'd them to be put in the stocks. They were then convey'd to Hampton, and then again whipped, and also at Salisbury; but the constable of that town, deputing a person to convey them farther, he, mov'd with compassion, determin'd to run the hazard of breaking the law, and set them at liberty, whereby the priest was disappointed of his aim, which seem'd to be to take away their lives, which in all likelihood had been the case, if the constables of these eleven townships had executed the warrant with such severity as he had excit'd the constable of Dover to do, the distance from Dover, to the end of the jurisdiction, being about eighty miles.

After a little time they return'd again to Dover, where, being met together with other friends on the first day of the week, whilst A. Ambrose was at

\* "To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham, Linn, Bolton, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction.

"You and every of you are required, in the King's majesty's name, to take these vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them on their backs, not exceeding ten stripes a piece on each of them, in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable, till they come out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril: and this shall be your warrant.

"Per me,

"RICHARD WALDEN."

At Doyer,  
Dated Dec, 22, 1662.

prayer

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 199

prayer, two constables, Thomas Roberts and John his brother, came into the meeting, and taking her each by an arm, dragged her out of doors, and then through the snow, which was knee-deep, over stumps and old trees near a mile; when they had wearied themselves, they commanded two others to help them: then they fetched Mary Tomkins, and treated her in like manner. The next morning, which was excessively cold, they forced them into a canoe, together with Anne Coleman, (who had in love accompanied them,) and carried them to the harbour's mouth, threatening that they would now dispose of them so, as that they would be troubled with them no more. And because they were not willing to go, they forced them down a steep place in the snow, dragging Mary Tomkins again over stumps of trees to the water side, whereby she was much bruised, and fainted under their hands. Anne Ambrose they pulled into the water, and kept her swimming by the canoe, in danger of drowning, or being frozen to death. They would in all probability have proceeded in their design of murdering them, had they not been prevented by a storm, which drove them back to the house where they had kept them all the night before. They kept them there till near midnight, and then turned them out of doors, in the frost and snow, tho' Anne Ambrose's clothes were frozen. The barbarity exercised on these women was such that, to all human probability, they must have perished, had not Providence in a signal manner preserved them. It did not appear that these men had any legal authority for what they did, but that they were encouraged to this abuse of these harmless women by a ruling elder of their church, (miscalled) "Hate-evil Nutter."

Amongst the number released from prison with Wenlock Christison, were Elizabeth Hooton and

K 4

Joan

Joan Brockfup, two ancient women, each about 60 years of age, being driven with the rest into the wilderness, and left there among wolves and bears, without necessary provisions; they were compelled to wander through places uninhabited and hardly passable, till they came to Rhode-Island, thence to Barbadoes, and from thence not long after returned to New England; for to that province was their message, to testify against the spirit of persecution predominant there. Upon their coming to Boston they were presently apprehended by a constable, a furious zealot, who declared, "It was his delight, and he could rejoice in following the Quakers to execution as much as ever." They were immediately sent away to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth Hooton went back to England.

After some time she felt the impulse of duty to return to New England; but previously to her going, she made application to the King, and obtained his licence to purchase for herself a dwelling in any of his plantations. Thus authorised, she and her daughter set sail in a ship bound for Boston, where, when they arrived, the magistrates were determined to fine the master of the ship one hundred pounds, until they were informed she had a licence from the King, which deterred them from executing that design; but in contempt of the King's licence and her solicitations, they persisted in their resolution not to suffer her to purchase any habitation there. Instead thereof they let her feel the effects of their malicious disposition, which had suffered no diminution by the restraint put upon them. At Dover she was set in the stocks, and kept four days in prison in cold weather. At Cambridge she was imprisoned in a close stinking dungeon, without any furniture, two days and nights without bread or water, and when a friend brought her some milk, being greatly exhausted, he was fined five pounds and sent

sent to prison. She was then whipped through three towns, Cambridge, Watertown and Dedham; with ten stripes in each, with a three-stringed whip and three knots at the end, and in this mangled condition was carried on horseback in frosty weather many miles into the wilderness, and left there among wild beasts, in the hazard of perishing there; as her prosecutors expressed their hopes that "they should never see her more." And in all probability she must have perished; had not a providential hand preserved her safe through the dismal desert and many deep waters to a town called Rehoboth, where she arrived the next day, and from thence made her way to Rhode-Island, praising the name of the Lord, who had signally supported her through such grievous tortures, as to her age and sex in all outward appearance were insupportable. But her sufferings had not yet satiated the vindictive hatred of her persecutors, as they would not permit her to take her clothes with her, when they sent her away, she returned to a place near Cambridge accompanied by her daughter to fetch them; and as they were passing with them to Rhode Island, Thomas Daufort, a magistrate, made out a warrant to the constable of Charlestown, to apprehend them and Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman of Scituate, who had accidentally met them in the woods as they were travelling. They were taken back to Cambridge, abused by the scholars, and then all three committed to the house of correction, and whipped by order of Daniel Goggin, tho' no just cause could be assigned. Elizabeth Hooton came at this time on the reasonable errand of reclaiming her property, her daughter was guilty of no offence but the filial duty of assisting her ancient mother, and the other accidentally fell into their company. The magistrates, not satisfied with what they had suffered, sent an order to "take them from constable to constable toward

K 5.

Rhode-

Rhode-Island, to be whipped in three towns." Returning to Boston and preaching repentance, she was again sent to the house of correction; whipped at the whipping-post as before, and afterwards at Roxbury and Dedham at a cart's tail; thence she was again taken in a mangled condition into the wilderness, and left there to make her way twenty miles, the weather still continuing very cold. Soon after returning to Boston to visit her friends, she was again cast into prison, whipped from the prison door to the town's end, and then sent away to Rhode Island, with a warrant to whip her from town to town, threatening "if ever she came thither again, they would either put her to death or brand her on the shoulder." Nine times was she tortured with severe whippings, twice exposed to perils in the wilderness, and left to perish, as far as in the power of these hypocritical professors of religion.

Edward Wharton, of Salem, whose banishment, on pain of death, hath been before recited; but the king's mandamus having prevented the persecutors from carrying their sentence into execution, (for as he told them, he did not depart from their jurisdiction, but kept his habitation) they omitted no opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon him, and make his residence there as uneasy as in their power.

In the summer of the year 1663, he went into the court at Dover, a place where persecution had been hotly carried on, and expressed himself in the following terms: "Woe to all oppressors and persecutors, for the indignation of the Lord is against them; therefore, friends, whilst you have time, prize the day of his patience, and cease to do evil and learn to do well: Ye who spoil the poor and devour the innocent."

Having said this, he was immediately apprehended, and set in the stocks till they might consult what

what to do with him. The result of their consultation was, that he should be severely punished as a vagabond Quaker, though well known to them as a reputable inhabitant of Salem, and about his lawful business: the clerk, as he was drawing it up, Wm. Hathorne called to him, and bade him write in the king's majesty's name. Whereupon Edw. Wharton made his objection, "Friends, you wrong the king and abuse his name, for I believe he never gave you order so to abuse his honest subjects." However, the court made an order\* to whip him, &c. to which sentence Edward answered, "I fear not the worst you may be suffered to do to me, neither do I look for favour at your hands." The sentence was immediately executed at Dover, and the executioner told him he must prepare to receive the like at the next town. But refusing to go, he was put upon a horse's back, having neither bridle nor halter, nor any thing to hold by but the pommel of the fiddle. In this ignominious manner, one leading the horse and two others guarding him on each side, he was carried like a notorious criminal from town to town, and whipped as the warrant directed.

Soon after this, two of his friends, John Lyddal and Thomas Newhouse, being at a meeting at Salem, were apprehended, and by Hathorne or-

\* "To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich and Wenham.

"You and every of you are required, in his majesty's name, to receive into your custody Edward Wharton, a vagabond Quaker, and convey him from town to town until he come to his habitation in Salem; and the constables of Dover, Hampton and Newbury are to whip him through their respective towns at a cart's tail, not exceeding ten stripes in each town, according to the law of vagabond Quakers in that behalf. This being the sentence of a court held at Dover the 4th of July, 1663.

ELIAS STILMAN, cleric."

K 6

dered

dered to be whipped through three towns. Edward remonstrating against this and other proceedings of this nature, was sentenced to be whipped with fourteen lashes, which were inflicted at the whipping post in the said town.

About the same time Joseph Nicholson, Jane Millard, and Anne Coleman were cruelly whipped through Salem, Boston and Dedham; the latter of whom, it is thought would have lost her life, thro' the extreme torture she was put to, by the knots of the whip splitting one of the knipples of her breast; and it was a considerable time before she recovered.

Edw. Wharton went about some temporal concerns to Rhode-Island, and from thence he, with George Preston and Wenlock Christison, went to Boston, and assembled there with others of their friends to wait on God. Rawson, the secretary, coming to the knowledge thereof, issued his warrant to take a stranger, a preacher among the Quakers, &c. but before the constable reached the house the meeting was ended, and the stranger gone. Searching Nicholas Upshall's house, he found E. Wharton there, and insisted upon his going before the governor; but Edward demanding a sight of his warrant, and not being mentioned therein, he refused to go under a warrant, in which being neither named nor described, it was in no respect a warrant against him: But the constable dragged him out of the house, and took him before the governor, who immediately, notwithstanding he knew him very well, as a reputable tradesman of the colony, and had been personally obliged to him \*, told him, " he should

\* William Sewel, p. 339, writes that Endicot had been formerly in a circumstance to acknowledge Edward Wharton's friendship to him, when he supplied him with necessaries in his want, promising then, that " if ever it lay in his power he would requite him." In what manner he made that promise good these anecdotes make manifest.

suffer

suffer as a vagabond." To which Edward replied, "I defy the life of a vagabond; that law is a wicked law, and wicked and unrighteous men they are that cause those who fear the Lord to suffer by such a wicked law." But this remonstrance availed not; the governor turned a deaf ear to his reasoning; and issued his warrant for him to be whipped at a cart's tail, through the towns of Boston and Lynn, and thence passed to Salem, the place of his abode.

When the warrant was written, Edward was told, that "if he would promise the governor to come no more to the Quakers meetings at Boston, it was likely he would discharge him." To which he replied, "Not for all the world; I have a back to lend to the smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them, and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me; but surely the Lord will visit you for the blood of the innocent, and your day is coming, as it is come upon many, who but as yesterday were higher than ever you were or are likely to be, but now are made the lowest of many, and truly my soul laments for you."

The next day he was cruelly whipped through Boston, almost a mile, and sent away to Lynn; but the constable there considering him as a well-known inhabitant of Salem, and the warrant an illegal one, refused to execute it.

Toward the end of next month A. Ambrósé and M. Tomkins being returned from Virginia, where they had been severely treated, and the latter, being very sick near unto death, E. Wharton and W. Christison having intelligence thereof, came from Salem to Boston to visit their sick friend. They were no sooner come to the house where she was, than two constables followed, and forced them all together



together before the governor, although the sick woman, through extreme weakness, fell down by the way as dead, yet they waited till she recovered a little, and took her with the rest. Wenlock and the two women were ordered to be whipped out of the jurisdiction, but their sentence, through the intercession of Col. Temple, was remitted. As for E. Wharton, he being an acknowledged inhabitant now (although so lately a vagabond) they resolved upon another course with him, and thereupon informed him that "unless he would subscribe to these four propositions: 1<sup>st</sup>, To promise to come no more to any Quakers meetings in Boston. 2<sup>d</sup>, That when he came to Boston he should acquaint the governor and his deputy forthwith, and of his business. 3<sup>d</sup>, That he would take the oath of fidelity. And 4<sup>th</sup>, To give bond for his good behaviour, "he should be tied to a great gun, and severely whipped with thirty stripes on his naked body." A severe and arbitrary alternative; yet he was not long in determining his choice, telling them that "he would not comply with their proposals;" whereupon Daufort drew up a warrant, and got Endicot to sign it:

Then they led him to the market place, and bound his arms to the wheels of a great gun, and barbarously whipped him with thirty stripes, so that it was testified that peas might lie in the holes, which the knots of the whip had torn in his flesh; his body was much swelled and very black from his waist upwards. In that condition they led him, as the warrant directed, not the nearest way to Salem, but round about the country, as if to expose him to the people as a spectacle.

Soon after the signing this warrant Endicot was deprived of his power, being seized with a loathsome disease, which caused a nauseous putrefaction

tion before his breath left him, and terminated in his death.

Of his confederates some were gone before, and the rest were taken away one by one, so that from this time persecution in New England gradually abated, as the persecutors lost their strength, and the eyes of the people began to be opened, to see the evil of these rigorous measures, and more generally to condemn them, the magistrates became more cautious; yet we shall in sundry instances, see the vestiges of the persecuting spirit endeavouring to exert its power for the punishment of divers of this people several years after this, even till the Indians made destructive incursions into their jurisdiction, which brought on a war, and gave them more serious employment—to repel enemies much more formidable than the Quakers.

Edw. Wharton, however, did not find all his persecutors removed in Endicot, for some months after, he was again cruelly whipped, and imprisoned one month, for no other cause than accompanying some of his friends to Boston, who came thither to seek a passage to England.

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## DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

ABOUT the year 1661, two English women were imprisoned in the inquisition at Malta, above three years: their names were Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. These women, under a religious concern took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn, where, through various trials, they at length safely arrived, and stayed some time, during which they used their endeavours to answer the end of their coming, by dispersing sundry books, explaining the doctrines of this people, and discouraging

coursing upon religion with the people who came to them, of whom curiosity drew numbers of all ranks daily; and in these their christian endeavours they met with no molestation here.

From hence having got a passage in a Dutch ship, with intention to go to Alexandria, the master put into Malta, where he tarried some time. Next day after their arrival, being the first of the week, they went on shore, where they were met by the English consul, who enquiring the cause of their coming, they informed him, and gave him some books; upon which he let them know there was an inquisition there; and kindly invited them to his house. While they abode here, curiosity drew many to visit them, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, whereby several were affected. They went by desire to the nunnery, to see the governor's sister there, where they discoursed with the nuns, and gave them some books. Here a priest brought them into the chapel, and wanted them to bow to the high altar; but they refused, with abhorrence of that idolatry, and went back to the consul's, where they continued about three months, during which time they were repeatedly called before the inquisitors, and examined by them about their religious principles; and through the wisdom and integrity they were favoured with, answered their interrogatories in such manner as not to give them the advantage against them, which they were seeking for, nor give away the cause of that truth they believed in, by the least compliance with their requisitions to adopt their errors. The inquisitors, not adventuring to take them out of the consul's house without his consent or acquiescence, yet, desirous to get them into their power, at length prevailed upon him by their flattery, their menaces, and (as was afterwards discovered) by bribery, to violate his duty, and withdraw his protection so far:

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as to suffer them to be taken by the officers of the inquisition; for which purpose he confined them in his own house, though the governor had signified his willingness that they should retain their full liberty, as believing them to be honest women. The consul by fair carriage was desirous to conceal his insincere conduct; but they being under a sense that measures were in contemplation to their prejudice, and suspecting the consul to be a party therein, hinted to him their suspicions, remarking, that "Pilate would willingly do the Jews a pleasure, yet wash his hands in innocency;" which remark, his consciousness of his duplicity applied home to himself, so that he required a sign of them, if they were the messengers of God: And they signified that this might serve for a sign, "That it would go well with them, but it would not go off well with him."

Soon after the consul informed them that they were sent for by the inquisition, in pursuance of orders from Rome, but that he hoped they would be set free; wherein he still dissembled, knowing (as they afterwards discovered) that they would be detained in prison. They were taken into custody by the officers of the inquisition, and carried before the lord inquisitor, whose first question was, "Whether they had changed their minds?" To which they answered, "No, and that they should not change from the truth." Then he asked, "What new light it was they talked of?" They replied, "It was no new light, but the same the prophets and apostles bore testimony to." Next he asked, "How this light came to be lost since the primitive times?" They answered, "It was not lost, but men did not comprehend it, by reason of the night of apostacy which had overspread the nations." Then he threatened them, if they would change their minds they should  
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say so, or else they would use them as they pleased; but they signified they would not change, adding, "The will of the Lord be done." Upon this the inquisitor and consul withdrew, and left them to the officers to conduct them to their prison, which was a close dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot, that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitor was to stifle them to death.

They were brought under examination again and again, but no answer could be extorted from them to turn to their disadvantage; and being still kept close prisoners, the consul, who had been forewarned that his connivance at their apprehension would not go off well with him, became troubled to that degree, that he came to them with tears in his eyes, expressing his sorrow for their detention; and he offered back what he had received for delivering them up, but could not prevail to have them set at liberty; and is said to have enjoyed no peace after as long as he lived.

To describe minutely all the sufferings they patiently endured during a cruel imprisonment for three or four years would lead me into too much prolixity. They were continually perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole, terrify or beguile them into conformity to their superstitions; but all their efforts were ineffectual.

But it looked as if their design was rather to get them put out of the way without noise, than to execute them publickly. They were therefore put into a room so exceedingly close and suffocating, that it was thought they could not survive there long; where they were so stung by gnats, that their faces were spotted and swelled as if they had been in the small pox. They were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath. By the excessive heat of the  
room,

room, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. Their affliction here was too severe for humanity in its best state, especially in tender women, to support, so that at times they were tempted to wish for death, to put an end to their sorrows.

It was not admirable that Catharine, by this treatment, fell into a fit of sickness, and the monks once bringing with them a physician, as they had done several times before, telling them it was in charity, Catharine asked them, "Whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring the physician to keep them longer alive in torment?" To this it was replied, "It was better to keep them there than to kill them." They wrote to the inquisitor, pleading their innocence, and complaining of the hardships they sustained; adding, "if it was their blood they thirsted after, they might as well take away their lives some other way as smother them there." This remonstrance he took so ill, that he ordered their inkhorns to be taken away. They asked, "Why their goods were taken away?" and were answered, "All is ours, and your lives too, if we will." He ordered them to be separated; but when they came to part them, Catharine's disorder had become one continued eruption from head to foot, whereupon the doctor was sent for, who said, "They must have air, or else they would die." This, being reported to the inquisitor, he ordered the door to be set open six hours in the day.

Soon after they were separated, in hopes to make more impression upon them, by attacking them separately; but their assailants were disappointed, for they found them afterwards as immoveable as before, being strengthened separately as well as jointly to resist all their attempts.

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The house of the inquisition being rebuilding or repairing in some parts for the space of a year and a half, furnished them with frequent opportunities, even here, to preach, not only among the workmen, who were well affected and obliging to them, but often to the citizens of better quality who came to view the building.

Sometimes they spoke so effectually to those who came to see them, that they could not gainsay the truths they declared, but were made to confess that God was with them. And Catharine's prison being so near the street that she could be heard by those that passed, she frequently found it her duty, particularly as they went to and from the place of worship, to call them to repentance, and to turn them to the light, which would lead them from all sinful ways and errors in worship, to serve God in spirit and in truth, which seemed to have a considerable effect on many, who would stay to hear as long as they durst, for they were narrowly watched, and the consequence of their stopping might have been imprisonment at least. Others greatly offended, applied to the inquisitor to have them chained, or punished some other way; and many of the lower order, imbittered by the priests, manifested great malice in their words and actions.

Thus they not only withstood all the efforts of the monks to beguile them, but bore testimony to the truth, and against the superstition of the religion established there. Sundry intercessions were made to the inquisitor, both by their friends and others, particularly by Francis Stuart, of London, a master of a ship, who coming to that city, in company with an Irish friar, and engaging the assistance of the new consul, made interest to get them released by application to the chief magistrate, the inquisitor, the magistrates and friars; and obtained the consent of all or most of them

to their release, except the inquisitor, who told them, "He could not set them free without an order from the pope." These men were however admitted to speak with them (a privilege rarely granted) the master with tears informed them of the ineffectual pains he had taken to procure their liberty; "It is this inquisitor," said he, "that prevents it; you have preached to this people." To which they replied, "That it was to preserve the testimony of a good conscience; and the truth they had borne witness to amongst them, they should stand to maintain, even with their blood."

The next effort for their liberty was made by Daniel Baker, one of the same profession; who, under a concern for propagating true religion, in company with John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Richard Scothrop, had travelled to Leghorn, whence Stubbs and Fell took their departure for Alexandria; and Baker and Scothrop for Smyrna and Constantinople, they preaching every where the light of Christ, and exhorting all to obedience thereto. This doctrine, delivered in meekness, and accompanied by inoffensive deportment, was received with contempt, more by the professors of Christianity, than the Turks, Jews and Greeks. When they arrived at Smyrna, they were sent back by the English consul to Zant, where R. Scothrop died. D. Baker got passage from thence to Venice, and so to Leghorn, and at length to Malta, to visit the aforefaid women, with whom he had real sympathy, being engaged in the same cause. He obtained access to the inquisitor, and in the Italian language, "demanded the just liberty of the two English women in prison in the inquisition." The inquisitor asked, whether he was related to them as a husband or kinsman? and whether he



he came out of England on purpose to make this application? He answered, that he came from Leghorn for that purpose. The inquisitor told him, they should lie in prison till they died, except some English merchants, or others of sufficient ability, would give an obligation of three or four thousand dollars, that they should never return thither.

He repeated his solicitations, but could obtain no other answer. During his stay of twenty-four days on the island, he frequently visited the prisoners at the hazard of his life; administered to their necessities, and received several letters from them to take over to their friends in England; and though he was daily threatened with the inquisition, returned safe to England, where he was soon after taken with others from the meeting at Bull and Mouth, in the 5th month (July) 1662; and after being detained some hours for a gazing-stock to the people in Paul's yard, was taken in the evening before Alderman Brown, who ordered his attendants to smite him, which they did; and pulling him four or five times to the ground, beat him with their fists, and wrung his neck, to gratify the ill temper of their master; who, when he was satisfied with abusing him and his companions, committed them to Newgate. It was not without reason that Daniel Baker, reflecting on the treatment he had met with abroad, told him that Turks and Pagans would be ashamed of such brutish actions.

At last, after these women had endured the severities of their imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of three years, G. Fox and Gilbert Latey understanding that the Lord d'Aubigny could procure their liberty, applied to him for his friendly interposition, by writing to the magistrates there in their favour; which he readily promised to do, and his mediation was so successful as to obtain their release in the following manner:

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The lord inquisitor with the chancellor and others came to the prison, and asked them, "Whether they would return to England to their husbands and children?" They replied, "It was their intent, in the will of God so to do." Whereupon they were released, and the inquisitor courteously took his leave of them, wishing them a prosperous journey to their own country, as did the other officers, without making any demand of fees for their attendance. Being thus restored to liberty, they kneeled down and prayed unto God not to lay to their charge the evil they had done unto them. And then they were delivered into the consul's hands.

After about eleven weeks residence at his house, the Sapphire frigate coming to the island took them in, together with some knights of Malta, one of whom was the inquisitor's brother, who often interested himself with the captain in their favour, requesting they might want no accommodation the ship afforded. From Malta they came to Leghorn, where the merchants treated them with remarkable kindness, sending them wine and other things for their refreshment. From hence they passed to Tangier, at that time besieged by the Moors, notwithstanding which they went into the town, and got many opportunities of exhorting the people to the amendment of their lives, as they flocked greatly to the house where they lodged: they paid a visit to the governor, who received them courteously, took their admonition in good part, and signified his purpose to follow their counsel. He would have given them money, which they were not free to accept, but gratefully acknowledged his kindness. From Tangier they went aboard another ship for England, where, after some storms, they arrived in safety, rejoicing in the  
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Lord, and magnifying his mercy manifested in their wonderful deliverance\*.

Severe as the sufferings of these women in the inquisition were, they fell short of those of John Philly and William Moore, who being with other friends in Germany in the beginning of the year 1662, proceeded into Hungary, on a visit to the Hortefche brethren, who were a kind of Baptists living in a community, and in imitation of the primitive Christians, having their goods in common: they also refused to swear or fight, and dwelt by hundreds of them together in a family. By the information they had previously obtained, and further directions on the way, they made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of this people, residing near Cushart, about a day's journey from Presburg, where they were hospitably entertained. They here dispersed some religious books, which they had with them. They had afterwards some favourable opportunities of exercising their gospel labours amongst them.

After they found themselves clear of their service there, they inquired after other families of their brethren, and were informed of one, three hundred miles farther, at a city called Pattock, in Upper Hungary; at the same time they were dissuaded by these people from going so far, but rather to stay and visit the families thereabouts. With this proposal, although William was easy to comply, yet his companion thinking it his duty to go forward, he had not freedom to leave him, as John did not understand the language, of which he had some knowledge.

They therefore continued their journey to Pres-

\* For some time previous to their discharge, their integrity and blameless demeanour had made an impression on both the magistrates and inquisitor in their favour, so that the latter relaxed in his severity; he ordered that they should be supplied again with pens, ink and paper, to write to their friends.

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burg, towards Comora, and on the way finding a boat going with meal to the garrison at Newhausel, which was on the way to Pattock, they endeavoured to get a passage in it. The boatmen asking whether they had any acquaintance there, and whether they had a pass? and being answered in the negative, they told them it would be dangerous going thither, and also to travel further in these parts, being tributary to the Turks; that they would be in danger of being killed by the countrymen or Turks; and in equal danger if they went to Newhausel, as at that garrison they usually put those to death who were found on the tributary ground without permission. John Philly notwithstanding being desirous to proceed, they went on till they came near Comora, and lodged at an Hungarian's; but not being able to understand one another, they sent for a student from the college, with whom William conversed in Latin. The student inquiring concerning their country, and the purpose of their journey, William told him they came from Great Britain, and were desirous to go to Pattock. Afterwards they entered into discourse about religion, and in conclusion the student, taking his leave, wished them well, though his sentiments, he said, differed vastly from theirs.

Comora is in Schut, an island in the Danube, which river they must therefore cross to get to it; they made signs to a countryman to put them over, by holding out money to him, being ignorant of the risk they would run. He was accordingly getting his boat ready, when a Dutchwoman coming up, called out to him, What are you about? and told these strangers the governor would presently cause him to be hanged, if he took them over. So they returned to their lodging. Here William having heard there were many Dutch people on the south side of the town, went over the next day, and

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without apprehension of the consequence, took over some books, in order to seek an opportunity to convey them to Pattock. Meeting a soldier, and having one of the books in his hand, the soldier, looking at the title, told him of a certain place in the neighbourhood, which was in Turkey, whither, if he went, he might have good days there; to whom William signified his purpose to return back, and proceeded to the water side, in order to rejoin his companion, whom he had left behind. Here the soldier came up to him, and told him, he must come to the captain, before whom appearing accordingly, he asked for the book, and looking into it, asked William if he was a Quaker? to which he answered, *Yea*. The captain, in a passion, said, These rogues shew no respect, and that he was a young *Huss*\* come to seduce the people, and make uproars. He then caused him to be stripped and searched, and took away his money. William giving him to understand he would not like such treatment himself, he told him, When you get clear you shall have your money; but that is not like to be the case. Being sent to the guard, and shackled hands and feet, they endeavoured to terrify him, by insinuating as if he should be roasted on a wooden spit, as some had been, who had but just gone to the next village without their order. He endeavoured to compose himself in resignation, expecting little less than immediate death. He was desirous to convey intelligence to his companion of his situation, and told the soldiers he had a companion in the inn on the other side, who would won-

\* JOHN HUSS was one of the first reformers from the errors of popery in *Germany* and *Bobemia*. He was burnt at a stake, 1415. When the faggots were piled up to his neck, the Duke of Bavaria desired him to abjure: "No," said Huss, "I never preached any doctrines of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood."

*Fox's Book of Martyrs.*

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der what had become of him, if he did not hear. On this intelligence they went over and apprehended him, though unconcerned in the crime they imputed to William; which was his going over into the garrison. They were committed to separate prisons, William to the Stockhouse, and John to the room appropriated to the purpose of putting the prisoners to the rack, where he had only the prospect of the implements of torture before him.

The day following they were brought before the inquisitor, who demanded of them, Whence they were? Whither they intended? Who was the author of their coming forth? What money they had taken up? William was farther examined concerning the books, and told it was a capital crime, and would cost him his life; to which he signified, What he had done therein he had done in simplicity. To the next question, Who had spoken to them in their lodging? he answered, A student. This student being accordingly sent for, his information was taken down in writing; but it doth not appear that any cause of crimination could be drawn therefrom, as to their pretended crime of coming as spies, or with treacherous intention, to the garrison. At a future examination the inquisitor had the student's information in his hand, but would not read it openly. When nothing as to their pretended crime could be made out, the inquisitor told them the books were enough, though there were nothing else; and then asked, Whether they did not know that Catholics had laws to burn heretics, and such as carried such books? to which William warily replied, "I should not have expected such dealings among good Christians."

The inquisitor opening a book, read or appeared to read therein, that persons who carry such books and papers are to be put to the rack. They were repeatedly brought to examination in the first eight days after their apprehension, and sundry ensnaring

questions put to them, as what they thought of the sacrament; to which William replied, "The flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth." This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the scriptures, that in a surprize he applied to a priest present, "Sir, father, how is that?" who recollecting himself, said, "he did remember such an expression." The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn Catholic?" to which he replied, "If I should do so for fear or favour of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours; adding that compulsion might make hypocrites, but not Christians.

Being thus tempted till the eighth day, without the discovery of any crime from their own confession, or the information of others, their persecutors proceeded to their usual resource, to extort the confession they wanted by torture. Of this, the sufferer, William Moore, gives the following account, in a letter to William Caton, written soon after his release :

"Notwithstanding our innocence, the governor would have us racked, which seemed to me, according to relation, a cruel torment; and in those days I often poured out my supplications to the Lord with tears. They made ready the benches, lighted the candles, put John out of his room, and sent for me, the inquisitor sitting there, and two more officers, and the marshal and executioner by them. The inquisitor, addressing himself to me, said, William, that you may not think we deal with you as tyrants, we will inform you that you may tell what you know in time, for if you be racked you will be a miserable man, and must have your head cut off besides. But I told them I had done no evil that I knew of, nor had any in my heart against them. Then

Then he read a few lines to this purpose; we Leopold, Emperor, &c. having understood of two impeached persons, John Philly and William Moore, found by our frontier garrisons, our desire is they should be racked, to know their intent. And then the executioner, by their order, put an iron screw hard upon my thumbs, and bade me tell out. Then he slacked them and screwed them harder again; but their aim not being gained thereby; he was commanded to proceed farther; upon which he tied a small cord about my wrists behind my back, and another cord about my ankles, with a battel of wood between my feet, and forced my body quite from the ladder; and at the first pull, my left arm being dislocated, gave a loud crack, then he was ordered to put it in joint again. So he slackened: and then they told me, they had three things especially, which they wanted to be informed in; 1st, Why I asked the student if one should come to them, and say he intended to buy somewhat of them, if they would kill him? Secondly, Why we had desired to be set over the water, and who was the author? Thirdly, Why I had written down some of the names of the garrisons and other places, notwithstanding I had them in the maps?

“ He further endeavoured to force me to tell whether John Philly was a gunner, an engineer, or a minister? Now this suspicion of his being a minister was put into their heads by an Irishman, who had an irreconcilable hatred or malice against Englishmen, as I afterwards from his own mouth plainly understood; but I answered and kept to this, that he was a husbandman and a maltman, and I knew him not till he came to Amsterdam. He asked me, if I had a mind to go to the Turks, and be one? I said I had rather die than be one. In the mean time I was so racked, that my chin was close to my breast, and my mouth so closed that I was almost choked,



and could not well speak any longer; and I should not wish any to experience the painful torture. I endured; and when they slackened, it was sometimes almost as painful as the pulling, and yet still they would be questioning me. Then I asked, where is your Christian charity? Do ye now as ye would that others should do unto you? And I cried the louder that the people without might hear, and bear witness what they were doing to me, for the door was shut and guarded: but something they would force out of me; and I told them that by such means they might force men to tell more than they knew, to be out of their pain, as many had done. Finally, I told them, it was for love to our religion we were come to those places. Then they left off, as thinking there was crime enough. Yet still the inquisitor threatened I should be racked again on the third day.

“ Then they fetched John, who not seeing me, thought I had been hanged on the private gallows they had there, and put out of the way. His thumbs were screwed, and he was drawn up the ladder twice, but cried out, *innocent*; and they asking the interpreter, what that was? they seemed smitten in their consciences, and left off; and when all was done, and they could find no contradiction, they invented a lie. The marshal came to me, and told me John had said, I had no money by me, but what I had was his; and bid me tell how it was; which I knew to be false: thus they sought occasion to torment us the more; but we kept to truth, and their expectation failed them.

“ After all, they told me there would be twenty or thirty men of note, out of the quarters round about, appointed to hold a court of justice upon us, and to determine what deaths we should die, and to make new laws for our sake; but in the mean time the inquisitor came, and would have me write down

down some of the heads of my religion, which I did, at some of which he raged very much."

John Philly being suspicious that the inquisitor and priests, plotting to take away their lives, might give a false representation of their confession on the rack, called out to the governor, as he was passing in his coach, and upon sending to know his business, he informed him of the questions put to them, and their answers; which being true, there was not the least contradiction found therein. He afterwards wrote to him more fully, but the inquisitor, conscious of his evil dealing, intercepted the letter, and endeavoured to conceal it from the governor, which John understanding, took another opportunity to call to the governor, and informed him thereof, who ordered the inquisitor to give it to William to translate, which he did; soon after the inquisitor came to them, and informed them he was sent by the governor to let them know they might go forth to fill some earth in a wheelbarrow, whereby they might earn two-pence a day to buy bread; for, continued he, that which remains in my hands of your money is little for my pains, and the marshal and the executioner must have some for theirs. This offer they willingly accepted, both for the sake of fresh air, and in hopes that their sufferings, being in open view, might move some compassion, there being many Lutherans and Calvinists there, who commiserated their condition, but durst not venture to visit or converse with them in the castle. Yet sometimes the marshal would not let them go out, and often kept back their wages.

They both wrote again to the governor, in acknowledgment of his moderation in preventing the desire of some of their adversaries, who wanted to proceed to greater severities. The inquisitor again intercepted their letters; but the governor, coming to the knowledge thereof, obliged him to

give them up, and soon after their chains were taken off.

After they had been detained here about sixteen weeks, they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard to General Nadasti, who was addressed under the titles of *Judex Curiaë Hungariæ*, the Emperor's active privy counsellor and Lord chamberlain. The next morning they were brought before him and sundry lords of that kingdom, by whom they were examined; and though some of them seemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto, they passed sentence upon them, that they should be burned, if they would not embrace the popish religion, for that their laws tolerated only three religions, their own, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists; and whosoever brought a new religion, by their laws was to be burned. Upon receiving this sentence they were sent away. John was supported, and encouraged his companion, by a full persuasion of mind, that the power of the Lord would divide them in their council, which proved to be the case, as they afterwards understood by an Irish priest, who was sent to demand an account of their religion in writing, which they gave him in English, and William having translated it, gave it into Nadasti's own hands.

A priest was sent to convert them, but his endeavours being ineffectual, Nadasti sent them to a place within five German miles of Vienna, where falling into the hands of the priests, their perils became aggravated. They were again searched, and their books and papers taken away. They were threatened with the execution of the sentence passed upon them; that they could give them a specimen of their arguments for convincing heretics, such as burning under the arms, putting hot irons or copper-plates upon their breasts, and other methods of torture.

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They brought them into their churches (so called) to make them take off their hats and bow to their images. They set others to ensnare them, in their words, and strove to do it themselves, that they might get some occasion to take away their lives. But their menaces and pious frauds (as they have been termed) were frustrated. They therefore put manacles on their wrists, so small, as, when locked by main force, put them to extreme torture, so that they could not help crying out; which seemed to give much joy to these obdurate ecclesiastics. They were thrust into a narrow hole with some Turks, that were prisoners, where they had scarce room to sit down. Here they were again threatened to be sent back to Hungary to be burned. One of the priests, being desired to treat them as men and Christians, to allow them a little straw to lie on, and not to use them worse than the Turks, replied, "We prefer them before you." About the same time they offered them drink, which they suspecting to be poison, refused; upon this one of the priests said, *suspectum est*. Amongst these priests they had a very uneasy time, being, in addition to their cruelty, almost continually assaulted by their snares, their taunts, or menaces. As William under great discouragement was musing upon their situation, he said within himself, "Lord help us! what will be the end of this? Will they have power to murder us here, where few may know of it?" (for there were no Lutherans and Calvinists here as at Presburg and Comora to be witnesses of their treatment:) in this musing state, he seemed as if he slept, and on a sudden, to his imagination, appeared a man all clothed in white, sitting on a milk-white horse, riding in haste towards him, like one hastening to his rescue; whereby his faith was strengthened, imagining it was of Divine appointment for his encouragement, lest he should be too much cast down. The

very same day a message came from the Earl\*, signifying his displeasure at their proceedings.

There was one Adam Bien, the Earl's barber, who had been educated amongst the Hortefche brethren, and being favoured in his youth with an enlightened understanding in the nature of true religion, had been engaged to express his dissatisfaction with the darkness and deadness of the forms of those brethren. The Earl giving him some account of these prisoners, and shewing him some papers he had received from John Philly, his religious feelings were thereby revived, and a strong desire raised in his mind to get an opportunity of conversation with them, which through his interest with the Earl it was not difficult for him to attain. By their discourse he was in a good degree convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and while they stayed there, became a steadfast and serviceable friend to them. He told them, he had it from the Earl, that he imagined the priests must have been drunk when they gave the ill treatment which had displeased him; they in return informed him they were so both with rage and wine. The Earl's reproof had such effect, that some of those, who had distinguished themselves in promoting every cruel and malicious insult, were endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with them by flattery, to wipe off the remembrance of their preceding treatment. The priests also were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before.

They seemed now to have a prospect of liberty, having obtained certificates of their character from

\* Who this Earl was, we have no further account in William Moore's letter, from which this narrative is extracted; but I conjecture he was a person vested with the principal civil authority in this place.

their friends in Holland, with the King's proclamation for setting their friends at home at liberty, which were of service: but a priest exerted his utmost efforts to prevent it, by infusing prejudices into the Earl's ear, and influencing him with a bad opinion of them. And this Earl going to Vienna, was there confined by a heavy indisposition, by which means they were disappointed, for the present, in their hopes of liberty.

In the mean time, Adam Bien had requested (unknown to the prisoners) liberty for them to reside in his house, during the extremity of the winter; as their present prison, the guard-room, was very cold, the doors being open all day, and much of the night, and from the confidence he had in their integrity, proffered his own person in their stead, if they should make their escape; but they were not free to add the burden of supporting them to the obligations they were under for his former kindness, and therefore chose to stay in the prison: yet they got liberty at times to go to his house, where they sometimes met with some of the brethren, and had religious opportunities with them.

But their sufferings were not yet at an end; both priests and soldiers, though partly restrained by the awe they were in of Adam, on account of his intimacy with the Earl, continued to be vexatious to them, and sought, in various ways, to insnare them. Finally, they seem, by their insinuations, to have prevailed upon the Earl to connive, at least, at a plot which was laid to separate them, by carrying William Moore off privately, probably, because, having some knowledge of the High-Dutch language and Latin, they might look upon him as the most likely to promulgate their doctrines. For this purpose he was called out by one of the men employed, who gave him two glass bottles, under pretence of going with him to fetch some wine;

and when he had drawn him out of the town into the fields, whither came some sleds, (the country being so deeply covered with snow, that waggons could not travel,) he forced him on to one of them, and was presently joined by a soldier, whom William knew to be a desperate man. Upon his coming, William was sensible that mischief was intended him, and fearing lest they should, under the pretence of his being run away, vent their vengeance on his companion and Adam, he resolved to endeavour to get back; but was prevented by the wicked attendants, who beat and abused him greatly, threw him down on the snow, tied his hands and feet, bound him on the sled, with his face to the hay, and carried him off; so that he was under apprehension that their design was to murder him in an adjoining wood, or execute him on a gallows which was in sight; but they passed by both. Some people coming that way, they covered him with a cloak, and one of them sat upon him, that he might not be seen. But hearing them passing by, he called out to them to let the barber know he was forcibly carried off. The soldier then again beat him severely, the other man having charged him not to suffer him to speak. At night, when they came to their lodging, they fettered his feet, and put a long chain, tied over a beam, about his neck. Next morning, passing through a village, he would gladly have spoke to somebody; but they forced him to lie down until they had got through the village. They carried him to a convent in a wilderness; but the prior not being at home, the monks would not receive him without his orders; so that night he was laid in chains as before. Next morning he was taken to the monastery, and his conductor gave directions that they should blindfold him, and put him in a deep dungeon, and give him only bread and water, and that none should be suffered to give any

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any intelligence of him. A Jew being there, was prohibited, on pain of death, to say any thing of what he had seen. He was accordingly put into a hole, where there was scarce any light, and kept there four days and four nights, in frosty weather, so that it seemed admirable he was not starved to death.

He had been confined twelve days, when the Prior came home, who sent for him and examined him, what end they had in view in coming into that country, and concerning some points of their religion; to which he answered agreeably to truth. The Prior told him that was not enough, he must also believe that the Pope was Christ's Vicar, and that he, and they, had power to bind and loose in Heaven and on Earth. He was afterwards again examined on the same subject; and as his demeanour amongst them was consistent with the purity of the profession he made, they were the more desirous to gain him over as a proselyte, because they apprehended he would be an ornament to their profession. And a priest was sent to instruct and convert him, but his labour being ineffectual, they had recourse to menaces, threatening one while to cut out his tongue, another to slay him alive, if he would not turn Papist.

Adam Bien continued steadfast in his friendship to them in all their afflictions. After William was carried off, the Earl endeavoured to persuade him he was run away, which Adam could not believe; but by some means getting intelligence of the place of his confinement, sent some necessaries, and gave orders to supply him with bread on his account. Soon after the Earl being again seized with indisposition, from which his recovery was doubtful, Adam solicited him in their favour, and obtained his promise to set them at liberty. But they being building a new cloister, William was detained by the Prior six weeks



weeks after to attend the masons, promising to tell him a good message when he returned, if he would be diligent. He afterwards told him, that the Earl desired William to be told, that if he would turn Catholic he should have good preferment; but if not he could not detain him, for he had prisoners enough besides; but that it was concluded, that if he was found afterwards in Hungary or Austria, he should be burned, and his companion also.

It was on the 4th of 7th month, (September,) 1663, he was released, and his companion two days after, of whom I find no farther account but that he set forward toward Germany. William, though set at liberty, yet having at first with his companion, been stripped of their money, which seemed more than sufficient for the expences of their journey, found himself involved in difficulty still, a stranger in a remote country, without money and without friends; but having been inured to close trials of his faith, he set out homeward, trusting in the superintending care of Divine Providence for his sustenance, from which he had experienced preservation in many straits. Another danger attended him; the Austrians being at war with the Turks, guards were placed at all the towns thereabout, to examine strangers, and seize suspicious persons entering into them; he therefore avoided the garrisoned towns, and enquired the most private ways, and in about a month he made his way into the Palatinate, where at Christein he got amongst his friends, who entertained him kindly. Here he tarried some weeks to rest himself after the long continued scene of danger which he had just passed.

## CHAPTER

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 CHAP. VI.

## DEATH, TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS OF VARIOUS FRIENDS.

IT was near the close of the year 1669, that John Audland was taken off in a consumption, in an early stage of life. He was born near Camms-gill\*, in Westmoreland. From a child he is described as of retentive memory, quick in understanding; and as he approached a state of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thoughtfulness, and became an eminent teacher amongst the Independents, of whom he had a numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank chapel, at the time when George Fox had the memorable meeting there, and amongst the number then convinced of the truth and efficacy of the doctrines he published. Notwithstanding the contemptible light in which learned prejudice has viewed and represented George Fox, yet it appears manifest his artless preaching and honest simplicity of style, were more conducive to fix the best impressions on the hearts of his auditory, than most of the elaborate discourses of lettered eloquence. This was the effect it had upon John Audland, impressing his mind with such reflections as these; "What availeth our great profession? All our building tumbles down; the day of the Lord is upon it, and the fire of his word consumes it as dry stubble, and puts an end to all high notions, and professions without life and substance; to all the wisdom of fallen man.

\* The seat of his beloved companion in gospel labour, John Camm.

We

We must forsake the world and all its glory; it is all but vanity and vexation of spirit. It is a Saviour I long for. O that I may be gathered into his life; overshadowed with his glory! sanctified throughout by his word, and raised up by his eternal power." Under this view of the necessity of taking up the cross in order to attain peace, he willingly submitted thereto; and resigning all his own self-righteousness, acquired wisdom, and the reputation he had attained thereby.

Through divine condescension he attained the desire of his soul, that inward peace which exceeds the comprehension of unsanctified men; and qualification, with wisdom and lively zeal to promulgate the way of salvation, no longer under the cold influence of barren speculation, but the animating energy of living experience. In the exercise of profitable ministry he faithfully exerted his talents for several years, travelling much through sundry parts of the nation, to propagate the doctrines of the gospel. He was married, about the twentieth year of his age, to Anne Newby, a young woman of a good family, who proved a suitable companion, being a valuable and well-accomplished woman. With her he enjoyed much domestic happiness.

He was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, being the first of them, in company with John Camm, who visited the city of Bristol, and the western counties; where, as well as at other places, his ministry was effectual to the convincing of many.

He was not only a partaker with his brethren in gospel labour, but in the sufferings of that trying day; in repeated imprisonments and corporal abuses; by which, with his zealous exertions in large meetings, he was affected with a violent cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a  
slow

flow fever, whereby he was reduced to great weakness.

Not long before his decease, being visited by some Friends, he addressed them with such encouraging exhortation to fidelity, under the trials they were exposed to, and with such reaching energy, as if he was raised above the feeling of his weakness. In tender sympathy with his beloved wife, who was with child, nigh to her delivery, to encourage her resignation, in case of his removal, he said, "My will is in true subjection to the will of the Lord, whether life or death, and therefore give me up freely to his disposing." And being, through divine assistance, strengthened to comply with this advice, her resignation contributed greatly to the ease of his mind. He was not only preserved in serenity of mind at this solemn period, but at times even filled with joy in the prospect of approaching felicity, under the impression whereof his soul was raised up in praise to the Almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness. His strength daily diminishing, he terminated a virtuous life, in great tranquillity, at the age of thirty-four.

In the last year, (1662.) we left George Fox, Margaret Fell, and Francis Howgill, in prison; the two former in Lancaster castle, and the latter in Appleby jail. George was brought to trial for refusing to take the oath of allegiance at the spring assizes, the beginning of this year, before Judge Twifden; and after giving his reasons why he could not comply with the requisition to take the oath, he asked the judge, "If he owned the King?" who replying in the affirmative, "Why then" said he "dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Why dost thou call me in question, and put me upon taking an oath,

oath, seeing neither thou nor any other can charge me with unpeaceable living?" At this, the judge was so provoked, that he cried out, "Sirrah, will you swear?" To which George rejoined, "I am none of thy sirrahs, I am a Christian; and for thee who art an old man and a judge, to sit there and to give nick-names to prisoners, doth not either become thy grey hairs or thy office." Two days afterward, being brought before the judge again, and asked, whether he would traverse the indictment or submit, he desired liberty to traverse, whereupon he was continued in prison till the next assizes, and during his confinement writ several papers to the magistrates, manifesting the evil of persecution, and exhorting to virtue.

He was called again before Judge Turner at the succeeding assizes, held in the month called August, where an indictment was found against him for refusing the oath; and he being brought in guilty by the jury, in arrest of judgment he pleaded so many errors in the indictment, that it was laid aside; whereupon he appealing to the judge, demanded justice of him. The judge told him, "You must have justice, and you shall have law;" and starting up in a passion, said, "I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender it to you again;" which he did accordingly, and recommitted him to prison till the next assizes, which were held the 16th of March, (so called,) 1664-5, when he was tried on another indictment; which he proved to be erroneous, as well as the former. The judge\*, however, overruled his objections, and ordered him to be taken away. When he was gone, the jury brought in a verdict for the King: he was called no more, but sentence of premunire was passed upon him in his absence.

\* Twissden.

Colonel

Colonel Kirby, though seemingly civil towards him, was the chief promoter of his first imprisonment, and of this prosecution; who, having now obtained his desire, ordered the jailer to keep him close, and suffer nobody to come near him. The jailer locked him up in a tower, sometimes so filled with smoke, that he could scarce see the candle when burning; and in wet weather it rained in upon his bed. In this condition he lay through a long winter, whereby he was so affected, that his body was much swelled and his limbs benumbed.

At the aforesaid assizes, in the month called August, Margaret Fell was also brought to her trial on the same account. Upon her trial, when the judge desired the jury to "take notice she doth not take the oath," she replied, "This matter is weighty to me, whatever it be to you, and I would have the jury take notice of it, and consider seriously what they are going to do. I stand here before you on account of the loss of my liberty and my estate; secondly, I stand here obeying Christ's command, and keeping my conscience clear; but if I keep the King's commands in obeying this law, I defile my conscience and transgress the law of Jesus Christ, who is the King thereof. And the cause and controversy in this matter that you are all here to judge of this day, is betwixt Christ Jesus and King Charles; this is his cause, and whatsoever I suffer it is for him, and so let him plead my cause when he pleaseth."

Her counsel pleaded in arrest of judgment, and found several errors in the indictment, which yet the judge would not admit of, but passed sentence of *premunire* upon her.

She remained in prison about twenty months before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house for a little time, but returned to prison, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the King.

Fell

Francis Howgill was also brought to his trial at the spring assizes this year at Appleby, before Judge Twisden aforesaid. Coming into court before the judges sat, he enquired of the clerk whether his appearance was expected then or not? who gave him expectation that he would not be called upon that assize. But Sir Philip Musgrave, a principal promoter of the prosecution, unfairly endeavoured to prepossess the judge against him, by representing him as a dangerous person, a ringleader of the Quakers, and a great upholder of their meetings: Whereupon they resolved to proceed to his trial. Judge Twisden, in his preparatory charge to the grand jury, informed them, there was a sort of people, who under pretence of conscience and seeming to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, under colour thereof, hatched treasons and rebellions; charging them to enquire after and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved. The jury was then impannelled, and Francis called to the bar; but after some time spent in conversation by the judge and the justices, the former requiring him to enter into bonds and go no more to meetings, and the latter misrepresenting the Quakers; the court ordered him to prison, and as he was going, he turned to the people, saying, "The fear of God be amongst you all."

The people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumstance.

At the summer assizes held in the same place, the 22d and 23d days of the month called August, he was again brought to the bar, and finally condemned in a premunire.

Previous to his second trial, he caused two papers to be presented to the judges; one of them was a declaration containing the substance of the oath, and the other a modest defence of himself for refusing

ing to swear; both which he was informed the judges read.

Upon his second trial he refusing to take an oath, gave many weighty reasons\* in support of his principles: but the jury finding him guilty, the judge pronounced, with a † faint and low voice, "You are put out of the king's protection and benefit of the law. Your lands are confiscate to the king during your life, and your goods and chattles for ever, and you are to be prisoner during your life."

So he returned to prison, where he continued to the end of his days.

Every rumour of a plot (real or pretended) seems, under this administration, a prelude to an additional penal law against Nonconformists. The plot alledged to be formed in the North, of which mention hath been made, and on the pretended account whereof the three forementioned persons were taken up, and premunired, was made a pretext for a new act ‡, whereby the act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth was declared to be in full force.

\* When he was asked, what he had to say why sentence should not be given? He replied, "I have many things to say if you will hear them. First, I deny not swearing out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but am willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I am concerned. Secondly, Because swearing is directly against the command of Christ; and thirdly, against the doctrine of the apostles. Fourthly, Even against some of the principal members of the church of England, as Bishop Usher, sometime primate of Ireland, who said in his works that the Waldenses denied all swearing in their age from that command of Christ and the apostle James, and that it was a sufficient ground. And Doctor Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, in a book I lately read, cites many ancient fathers, proving that the Christians, for the first three hundred years, did not swear; so that it is no new doctrine.

† This appears to me an evidence that this judge passed sentence upon him contrary to the conviction of his own conscience. *Gough*.

‡ Entitled "An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles." See *Gough* vol. ii. page 221.

It



It is observable, that the former act passed in 1661 enacted the same penalties, though not so largely or particularly expressed as this\* : nor doth it appear that it was rigorously enforced, as this was. The penalties of that act affected the Quakers only; but this extending them to all who meet in any other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, reached Nonconformists of every class: and though it appears levelled at every body of Dissenters, still the greatest weight of sufferings fell upon the Quakers. I have met with no account of any others condemned to transportation upon this act, but with numbers of those who were.

It is not wonderful that a law of such pernicious tendency to the liberty and security of so large a body of the people should give occasion to free animadversions.

Among several † who wrote upon this occasion, George Whitehead took up his pen, to expose the unreasonable severity of the persecutors; to

\* Persons above the age of sixteen years, present at any meeting of five or more persons, to be imprisoned three months, or pay a fine of five pounds; for the second offence the penalty to be double; for the third offence to be transported to America, or pay a fine of one hundred pounds. Married women to be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months, or pay a sum not exceeding forty pounds !!!

† Neal relates that such was the severity of these times, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance that came to visit them were present. Some families scrupled to ask a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table.—*Hist. of Purit.*

At Droitwich, Jo. Cartwright came to a Friend's house, and speaking a few words before he sat down to supper, there came an informer, and stood hearkening under a window. When he had heard the Friend speak, he went and informed, and got a warrant to disfranchise the Friend's goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his house: whereas there was none present in the house at that time, but the man of the house, his wife and servant maid. But this evil minded man, as he came back with the warrant in the night, fell off his horse and broke his neck.

strengthen

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strengthen his friends to steadfastness in their christian testimony; to exculpate them from the charge of obstinacy, and to answer some specious objections. Josiah Coale likewise about this time published a remonstrance to the king and both houses of parliament against persecution; but remonstrances, however reasonable, had little effect. Persecution to banishment was resolved on, and almost immediately endeavoured to be put in execution.

At the assizes at Hertford in the next month (August) eight persons of this profession, viz. Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Jeremy Hern, Thomas Wood, John Blendale and Samuel Trahern were brought to their trial before Judge Orlando Bridgeman, and indicted for the third offence against the convention-act\*.

An indictment was drawn up against them, expressing, That they had been at an unlawful meeting three sundry times, at such times and places; this being delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict; for there were some among them whose consciences would not so easily allow them to be accessary to the condemnation of the innocent, and therefore they returned the bill *Ignoramus*.

Instead of accepting this return of the grand jury, with menaces and fresh instructions the judge sent them out again: they then found the bill, with

\* This act was not in force till the first of the month called July, and these persons were arraigned for the third offence on the 12th and 13th of the succeeding month. As the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six, at the discretion of two justices; it was usual with these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offence, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third offence.

which

which the court seemed well pleased. Four of the prisoners were then brought to the bar, who pleaded not guilty, and added, we have transgressed no just law: but replied the judge, "you have transgressed this law (holding the conventicle act in his hand) and you have been twice convicted already. If you be now found guilty, I must pass sentence of transportation against you: but if you will promise to have no more such meetings, I will acquit you of what is past. This favour you may receive before the jury is charged with you, but not afterwards. What say you, will you meet no more? They answered with one accord, "We can make no such promise." Upon which the jury was sworn, and witnesses examined, who deposed that they found those persons assembled above five together at certain times and places, but that they neither heard any of them speak, nor saw them do any thing,

The judge then summed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury, in which he told them, "You are not to expect plain punctual evidence of any thing said or done, a bare proof of their being met for worship in their manner, not being according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, is sufficient for their conviction." "Tis not your business to enter into the meaning of the law, but singly determine the fact." The jury, with these instructions, went out, and soon brought them in guilty, and the judge forthwith passed sentence upon them, viz. "You shall be transported beyond the seas to the island of Barbadoes, there to remain for seven years."

Then the other four were set to the bar, and tried in like manner, and condemned to be transported to Jamaica: and a fifth, John Reynolds, was tried with them; but the witnesses deposing they had not seen him in the meeting, but within a yard of the door,

door, with his face from it, he was acquitted. The eight persons convicted were informed by the judge of that clause in the act, which provides that upon paying one hundred pounds each, before the rising of the court, they might be discharged. The court adjourned, and when they met again, sent to the prisoners to know whether they would pay the hundred pounds, which they unanimously refusing, the court broke up.

Pursuant to the sentence, the jailer, applied to Thomas May, master of a ship, called the Anne, and contracted with him to carry them to Barbadoes at five pounds a head, and those to Jamaica at six pounds; telling him they were freemen, and that six of them would carry goods. When he found they were under compulsion, he refused to receive them, as his contract was to carry freemen. The jailer, vexed at the disappointment, betook himself to the secretary of state, and made oath that he had contracted with Thomas May for the prisoners passage, as persons convicted by the act. May being sent for, took with him witnesses of his contract: but the secretary told him, oath having been already made for the king, his witnesses could be of no use, he must carry the prisoners. During this time they were closely confined, and but few of their friends admitted to see them.

The master being thus compelled to transport them against his will, they were put on board; but put on shore by the master, and taken in again at sundry times between London and Gravesend; it being remarkable, that though many vessels passed them down the river, this ship could make no way, nor with the utmost application of the seamen make sail to any purpose. Having by the master's orders followed him from place to place, at last he met them all together at Deal, and before several witnesses declared, that tho' they had followed the

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ship so long, yet he was resolved not to carry them: Here he finally dismissed them, with a certificate to shew that they did not make their escape, but were freely put ashore by him, assigning for his reasons, that seeing the disappointments he had hitherto met with, he concluded the hand of the Lord was against him. That therefore he durst not proceed on his voyage with these prisoners, they being charged with no crime worthy of banishment. That there is a law in force, that no Englishman shall be carried out of his native country against his will. And that his men refused to proceed on the voyage, if he carried them.

There was on board one Manning, who had been very officious in getting them on board, and desirous of detaining them there, with design, as was thought, of making a market of them beyond sea. This Manning, disappointed in his views, carried a complaint to the principal officer at Deal, that the prisoners had made their escape, but they producing the master's certificate, he refused to concern himself in the matter. Then Manning with two others forced four of them into a boat, which he found on the beach, to put them again on ship-board; but as nobody would assist him to row it, he was forced to let them go. The master sailed that night, and so left them behind. The relation of the manner in which the ship left them was attested by eleven persons, who were eye witnesses thereof.

Being set at liberty, they returned home, and by letter acquainted the king, which being read at the council board, under pretence that their liberation was effected by a collusion between the master and them, by order of council they were again committed to prison, until means of transporting them by some ship to those parts could be found, and were continued in prison until released by letters patent more than seven years after.

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On their return to prison they found twenty-one more Friends lying there under the like sentence, who at the quarter sessions held at Hartford the 3d, 4th, and 5th of October, 1664, were condemned to banishment, under which sentence most of them lay there till released by the same letters patent in 1672.

In London this conventicle act was no sooner in force than multitudes were imprisoned for the first and second offence, which was usually for a few days. On the 14th of the month called August the sheriffs, with many officers and others armed, entered the meeting-house at Bull and Mouth, and ordered the person who was preaching to come down, after which two officers stepped on a form near him, drew their swords, and struck him and another Friend with such force that one of their swords was broken; then they laid hold both on men and women, and haling out near two hundred, drove them to Guildhall, where they were kept prisoners till near midnight, and then, by the mayor's orders, conducted with lighted torches by a guard of halberdiers to Newgate, where they were thrust among felons. On the 15th about twenty were fined and committed, as were twelve more on the 17th, and about sixty others on the 19th, some for fourteen and others for nine days.

On the 21st the mayor with the sheriffs and Alderman Brown came again to the meeting at Bull and Mouth: Brown, with his usual rudeness, kicked some, pulled others by the hair, and pinched the women's arms until they were black: then causing the doors to be shut, about one hundred and sixty of them were sent to Newgate for four days, where they had not room to sit down, nor scarce to stand, being close shut up among the felons, without respect to age or sex. On the 28th one hundred and seventy-five were also sent to Newgate as pri-

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vately as possible, the magistrates, its probably being ashamed to expose their unrelenting severity to the public eye. On the 4th of September two hundred and thirty-two more were committed.

By such commitments the prisons being so filled, it was intended to proceed to the trial of such as were in for the third offence. For which purpose a young lad was brought from Newgate, who being asked if he were not at the Bull and Mouth meeting such a day, he replied, "I was not," whence the judge took occasion to reproach the Quakers with common place reflections, saying, that for all their pretensions to truth, they could lie for their interest, and to evade suffering. But the youth persisting in his denial, witnesses were called for, to prove his being there, but none could be found; which the judge observing, said, "Here is a disappointment!" Threatening some should suffer for it, he dismissed the jury. This disappointment was, want of evidence to answer the purpose of the court, to prevent which in future, orders were issued that the jailer of Newgate, the marsh and his men should attend the meetings, and be prepared to give evidence against the next sessions.

On the 10th of October, the sessions began at Hicks's Hall, before Sir John Robinson, and on the 13th a bill of indictment was preferred against sixteen Quakers for the third offence, about which the grand jury could not agree that night, but next morning, at the importunity of the justices, found the bill by a small majority. They were tried and convicted, and twelve of them received sentence of transportation, amongst whom was a young woman, named Hannah Trigg, whose treatment was unreasonably tyrannical, even by this severe law for being asked in form, why sentence should not be passed upon her, she replied she was not sixteen years of age, one of the justices told her she lie

d though a certificate of her birth, signed by two women present thereat was produced, asserting she is born the 20th day of August, (so called,) 1649, was rejected by the justices, who were so intent on multiplying convicts, that they seemed determined to go over all objections, whereby any might escape the designed punishment. The case of this young woman was yet more severe in this; at soon after she was sentenced to banishment, she sickened in Newgate, and dying there, the same unfeeling inhumanity was extended to her lifeless corps; her relations were debarred even of the consolation of paying the last office of natural affection, by interring her as they desired; for she was carried to the burying place, where they usually inter fellows and others who die in the jail. When the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corps unburied, saying, they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the anguish to behold this inhuman usage of her daughter's remains in silent sorrow, without the power of remedy. The other four, being married women, were sentenced to eleven months imprisonment in Bridewell.

On the 15th above forty more were brought to the sessions at the old Bailey, and called to the bar, one, two, three or four at a time, as they were included in one indictment. About sixteen, considering the indictment as a charge of contemning the law, and acting contrary to the king's peace, pleaded not guilty. Others giving general answers, such as, "I have wronged none, I am innocent," &c. were set by as mute, and the fact taken *pro confesso*. Then the court, at which Judge Hyde presided, proceeded to try the former sixteen. The witnesses against them were the under-keepers of Newgate and the marshal-men. The first was



one Dawson, a turnkey, who was greatly confounded in his testimony, for having sworn that he took John Hope, who had been in prison three weeks, at the Bull and Mouth last Sunday, and the court endeavouring to set him right, he correcting himself, said the Sunday before, which was equally false. Afterward he said the prisoner was brought out to him, and that he did not see him in the meeting. Upon which one of the jury, addressing himself to the judge, said, "My lord, I beseech you let us be troubled with no more such evidence, for we shall not cast men upon such evidence as this;" but the judge endeavoured to palliate it, and reproved the juryman for being too scrupulous.

Another evidence was William Turner, a turnkey too, who being asked if the prisoner was at the Bull and Mouth, answered, he was there that day, he came with the constable; whence it appeared he did not see him till he came to Newgate. So one of the jury objecting to this witness, the judge grew angry, and threatened him for undervaluing the king's witnesses, and told him, the court had power to punish him, and would do it. After some time the jury was sent out, who brought in their verdict, that four of the prisoners were "not guilty," and the rest they could not agree on. The judge being much displeas'd, sent them out again, with fresh instructions, they returned with this verdict, "guilty of meeting, but not of fact."

Neither persuasions nor menaces could induce the jury to alter their verdict: Whereupon six of them were bound in one hundred pounds each, to appear at the King's Bench bar the first day of the next term.

On the 17th, those who had been set by, were brought to the bar to receive sentence: First, four married women condemned to the house of correction for twelve months, the rest to banishment; the men

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 247

men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, there to remain seven years.

Thus the persecuting magistrates continued to imprison, and condemn to banishment, the members of this society in great numbers, there being, by an account published at this time, upwards of six hundred in prison. By authentic records, I find that upwards of two hundred were sentenced to banishment, in different parts of the nation, in this and the succeeding year, of whom above one hundred and fifty were condemned at the Old Bailey, and Hicks's-Hall; and what is very remarkable, out of all this number, I find no particular account of more than two at one time, and fifteen at others, who were actually transported, which was not owing to any relaxation of severity in the government, or subordinate magistrates, but the disappointments they met with of the means of transporting them, as hath been observed, with regard to those condemned at Hertford.

These two were named Edward Brush and James Harding, who, on the 24th of the month called March, early in the morning, were, without any warning, hurried from Newgate, by some of the turnkeys, to Blackfriars, and thence to Gravesend, where they were forced on board a ship, and carried to Jamaica, where it pleased God to prosper them, so that they lived there in good circumstances; and Edward Brush, who was at that time an aged man, and a citizen of good repute, after suffering the anguish of being separated from a beloved wife and only child, survived the term of his exile, lived to return, and end his days in peace at home.

With these two, a third named Robert Hayes, was also in like manner put on ship-board; in whom we have a fresh instance of the unfeeling barbarity which actuated his persecutors; for, being taken

fasting out of prison, though in a weak state of health, and under a course of physic, and carried down the river, on a cold day, without any refreshment afforded him; within a little time after he was put on board, he died. His body was brought back to London, and interred in the burying ground belonging to his friends. George Whitehead, who knew him, gives the following account of Robert Hayes: "He was a very innocent loving man, a goodlike person, of a fresh comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in the prime of his strength when first imprisoned." And adds, "I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world by the shameful cruelty and inhuman usage of these merciless persecutors."

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## CHAP. VII.

EXEMPLARY PATIENCE OF THIS PEOPLE UNDER SUFFERINGS.—THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.—GREAT FIRE IN DITTO.—ESTABLISHMENT OF DISCIPLINE.

**E**XPOSED as this people was to multiplied penalties and severe execution of unequal laws, yet through all the exertions of malicious violence, during the heat of persecution, they fainted not in their minds. There were among them some, who were not only examples in steadfastness in suffering themselves, but by their exhortations in word and writing, as well as example, encouraged their brethren to steadfastness therein: so that through all these efforts of the persecutors, to abolish this society, they increased, notwithstanding, in strength and numbers. George Fox, George Whitehead, Francis

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Francis Howgill and Josiah Coale, were of this number. Others were engaged to bear testimony against persecution, by their epistles, remonstrances, and prophetic warnings, addressed to the king and parliament; and yet, (what was remarkable) amongst the number condemned to banishment, not one of these eminent members was included, although they never sought to escape by subterfuge, but continued, when at liberty, to example their brethren to an open and diligent attendance of meetings.

Two of these prophetic warnings are too remarkable to be passed over unnoticed.

The first is extracted from a publication of George Fox, the younger, in 1661, wherein, lamenting England, because of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedness, he saith, "The Lord had spoken in him concerning the inhabitants," "The people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them!" Further, "that an overflowing scourge, yea even a great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it should fall and be taken away."

The next is a short admonitory caution from George Bishop, of Bristol, addressed

"To the King and both houses of parliament,  
"Thus saith the Lord,

"Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if you do, I will send my plagues upon you, and you shall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant,

G. BISHOP.

"Bristol 15th 9mo. 1664."

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Whilst these rigorous measures \* were used, for forcing uniformity in religion, true religion perhaps was never less cultivated or promoted than at this time, by the ruling party. The manners of the age were immoral to a scandalous degree.

The Quakers of this age looked upon the train of succeeding calamities, as divine judgments inflicted upon a sinful generation.

The first of those evils, was a war with the Dutch, in which very many lives were lost on both sides, and no advantage gained by either.

The next general calamity had more the appearance of a divine visitation; it was the most dreadful plague that had been known in the memory of man. Trade was at a full stand. Inter-course between the town and country was much interrupted. In London the shops and houses were shut up, and grass growing in the most populous streets, they became a scene of solitude, silence, and gloom; and it was remarked, that the first house in which it broke out, and which was shut up on account of the infection, was next door to the dwelling of Edward Brush, lately transported on the conventicle act.

It was certainly a most awful visitation, sufficient, one would think, to rouse the most inconsiderate to serious thoughtfulness, when the examples of mortality were daily multiplying before their eyes, and none could be certain whose turn it would be next; yet, such was either the hardness of heart, or the mistaken persuasion of their doing well, in the persecuting magistrates, that, unawed by the common calamity, they proceeded for a season, to carry this conventicle act into force, by increasing the number of Quaker prisoners and exiles, as if nothing extraordinary had fallen out.

\* Neale, vol. ii. p. 651.

In the month called April, 1665, twelve more of this society were sentenced to transportation, and seven more taken from Newgate to Gravesend, and there put on shipboard, to be transported to the plantations, and in the succeeding month, eight others. And a few days after their embarkation, Judge Hide, who had been an active man in promoting the conviction and sentencing of many to banishment, was suddenly taken off, being in health in Westminster in the morning, and found dead in his closet the same day at noon.

At the next sessions at the Old Baily four more were condemned to transportation, under which sentence there remained in Newgate more than 120 persons, whom the sheriffs knew not how to get rid of; for the masters of ships, persuaded of the men's innocence, generally refused to carry them, and the increasing pestilence confirmed them in their refusal. To remedy this difficulty, an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with an order that none should go down the river without a pass from the admiral; and this would be given to no master going to the West Indies, but on condition of his engaging to carry some Quakers. Remonstrances of the illegality of carrying Englishmen out of their native country by force were vain. At length they found a man for their purpose, one Fudge, a person so hardened as to say, "he would not stick to transport his nearest relations." With this man the sheriffs agreed to carry the prisoners to Jamaica, and in pursuance thereof fifty-five were taken out of Newgate, put into a barge, and carried down the river to his ship, lying at Bugby's-hole, a little below Greenwich. When they came to the ship's side, the master being absent, the seamen refused to assist in forcing them on board, and the prisoners were unwilling to be active in their own transportation. The turnkey and officers used high words to the seamen, in-

sisting that the prisoners were the King's goods, and that they ought to be assistant in taking them aboard; but the mariners were inflexible. At length, with much difficulty, they got only four on board, and being weary, returned with the rest to Newgate, where they lay about two weeks, and then were again carried to the barge. Soldiers were sent from the Tower in boats, to be assistant in putting them aboard. Several of their friends in other boats accompanied them, though the soldiers threatened to sink them, if they would not be gone. The commander of the soldiers called to the seamen to assist, but few of them regarded. Then the soldiers in the barge laid hold on the prisoners, dragging some, kicking others, heaving many by the legs and arms, and in this manner got them all on board in about an hour's time, being thirty-seven men, and eighteen women.

On board, the men were all thronged together between decks, where they could not stand upright. The master of the ship being in the mean time arrested for debt, the ship was detained so long in the river, that it was about seven months before they reached the Land's-end: and in the intermediate time, the pestilence breaking out in the ship, carried off twenty-seven of the prisoners. At last another master being procured, on the 23d of the month called February, the vessel sailed from Plymouth, and was the next day taken by a Dutch privateer off the Land's-end, and carried to Hoorn, in North Holland. When the commissioners of the admiralty there understood that they would not be exchanged as prisoners of war, they set them at liberty, and gave them a passport and certificate, "That they had not made their escape, but were sent back by them." From Hoorn they made their way to Amsterdam, where they met with a kind reception from their friends, who provided them with lodging and clothes

clothes, their own having been mostly taken from them by the privateer's crew. From hence they all returned to England, except one; who, being a foreigner, stayed in Holland. By these means the exiles were delivered, and the design of the persecutors frustrated.

In the same week that these fifty-five persons were put on shipboard, the bills of mortality in London amounted to upwards of 3000, and in the next week to 4030, and went on increasing till in the month of September they increased to upwards of 7000 in the week! For a contagion which spread through all the city with unabated violence, must naturally be supposed to infect the jails with an additional baneful effect. In the aforementioned prison no less than fifty-two Quakers laid down their lives in testimony of a good conscience, twenty-two of whom lay there under sentence of transportation.

On the 9th of the month called August, Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, sent a body of soldiers to break up the meeting at the Peel, who entered it in an hostile manner, crying to the assembly, "They were all their prisoners." John Eldridge asking by what authority they came, was answered by a blow on the head with a musket; and another, for asking the same question, was knocked down. The soldiers carried away thirty-two of them to Newgate, without paying any regard to the perilous situation of that prison: some of these were in the number of the prisoners carried off by the plague in that prison.

In the same month eighteen others were committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster, by warrants from the Duke of Albemarle, four of which number died there of the contagion.

Amongst those who laid down their lives in prison this year, was Samuel Fisher, formerly a parish preacher, at Lydd, in Kent. In the year 1655 he  
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was convinced of the truth, as held by the people called Quakers, and through obedience thereto, became a faithful minister. He travelled much in the exercise of his ministerial labours, both in England, and foreign parts. At Dunkirk he had good service in testifying against idolatry, and preaching to the English garrison there. He afterwards travelled on foot, with John Stubbs, over the Alps, and through Italy to Rome, where they bore faithful testimony to the simplicity of truth, and against the superstitions of the religion of that place; they also distributed some books amongst the ecclesiastics there, and when their service was over, passed away without molestation. But though he escaped persecution abroad amongst the Romanists, he met with his share of it amongst the professed Protestants at home, his sufferings being very great after his return to England. The greatest part of the four last years of his life he spent in prison; for in 1661, he was several months a prisoner in the Gatehouse in Westminster. Soon after his release, he was illegally apprehended, as before related, sent to Bridewell, and after some time brought to Guildhall, where refusing to take the oaths, he was committed to Newgate, and confined there about twelve months. In a short time after his discharge, he was taken again at Charlewood, in Surry, and committed to the White Lyon Prison in Southwark, where, after near two years imprisonment, on the last day of the month called August, he finished his course in this life, appearing to be in perfect peace; in good esteem both with his friends and many others, not more on account of his eminence as a scholar, than of his exemplary humility and circumspect conversation as a Christian.

With him was taken at the same meeting, and committed to the same prison, Joseph Fuce, who also laid down his life there. In the work of the  
ministry

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ministry he had travelled through several countries; his gift being in a peculiar manner adapted to the convincing of gainfayers, he was frequently engaged in disputes with Independents, Baptists, and other preachers—a man of a patient and meek spirit, laborious in the work of the ministry, and, as well as his brethren, a deep sufferer on account of his religious persuasion. In 1655, being on his travels in the exercise of gospel labour, he was taken up by order of the mayor of Arundel, and sent to Portsmouth to be shipped for Jamaica, among a company of disorderly persons, who had been sentenced to transportation for their vicious courses. By what means he escaped, doth not appear; but it is reasonable to suppose that, in consideration of the barefaced illegality of banishing a subject unconvicted, or charged with a crime, that some of the more prudent magistrates must have released him. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, after the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, several armed men and others rushed in, and took thence Joseph Fuce and twenty-three others; they were all committed to Sandown Castle, and there kept several days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat, or straw to lie on. Afterwards he and another Friend were removed to Dover Castle, where their treatment was still more barbarous. They were kept locked up with five others of their friends within two or three doors in one room, from which they were permitted no egress, on any emergency, however urgent; neither were their friends allowed to bring them necessaries; for the marshal had charged his servant that he should permit nobody to come near them, and the man having shewn them some little favour, was turned out of his place, and another substituted therein, more suited to the marshal's disposition; when one of their wives had come six miles to bring her husband  
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some necessaries, he would not suffer her to see him. Joseph Fuce, taking an opportunity to remonstrate to the marshal against the unreasonableness of this usage, was answered with a volley of oaths, against which he thought himself obliged to bear his testimony, by a serious reproof; for which he met with treatment more cruelly severe. The marshal, exasperated to rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down several stone steps, into a dungeon, under the bell-tower, overrun with filth and vermin, without aperture for light or air, except some holes cut in the door. There he was kept two days and nights without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. For want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, he fell sick; and after nine days confinement, he seemed at the point of death, when the fear of being questioned for murdering him, incited the marshal to suffer him to return to his fellow prisoners, with whom he continued several months, till released by the King's proclamation. He was also confined in Ipswich jail some time, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and at last laid down his life in the White Lyon Prison, Southwark.

In this year also William Caton died at Amsterdam. His service was much in that country; of his religious disposition, convincement, and qualifications for usefulness in society, an account having been given of him, at his first introduction into this history, we have only further to remark, that besides his literary accomplishments, and religious conversation, being remarkable for the affability of his disposition, he engaged the general esteem of those who were acquainted with him. His person while living, and his memory after his removal, were much respected, even by persons of consequence in that state.

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As the plague still continued in London, the parliament was convened this year at Oxford: but the joint calamities of war and pestilence, which seem to have made no profitable impression on the members of this parliament, so as to incline them to a better temper towards the Non-conformists; for they proceeded to enact a fresh penal law, commonly known by the name of "The Oxford five-mile act," which received the royal assent, October the 31st, 1665. It was entitled, "An act to restrain Non-conformists from inhabiting corporations."

This bill met with great opposition in the House of Lords, upon account of its enforcing an unjustifiable oath. Even the Earl of Southampton, (Clarendon's intimate friend,) was strenuous in the opposition, declaring the oath to be such "as no honest man could take." But party prejudice prevailed, and the bill passed.

Though this act was principally aimed at the Presbyterians and Independents, who had formerly enjoyed the church emoluments, it was frequently enforced against the Quakers, who, because they could not swear, were upon this law prosecuted and imprisoned.

The pestilence having carried off, according to most accounts, near one hundred thousand of the inhabitants of London, in the course of this year; and amongst them many of the people called Quakers, who left widows and children; the number of objects demanding their assistance at this period, proving too burdensome for the men, who held occasional meetings for the purpose of providing for the necessity of the poor; they called upon some female Friends to be assistants to them, who readily complying, met for this purpose once a week at London.

Such was the fraternal regard which prevailed amongst this people, that not only the resident inhabitants

bitants were exercised in this care, but several, as George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Josiah Coale, and others, felt themselves incited to come to London, as with their lives in their hands, whatever might be permitted to befall them, to encourage them by their example and exhortations to keep up their meetings, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned; all of whom were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment, in this season of danger.

We left George Fox a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, under a clandestine sentence or record of premunire, whence the justices, who had been active in his prosecution, perceiving that the arbitrary proceedings against him, being publicly known, and freely canvassed, exposed them to censure, they determined to use endeavours to procure his removal to some remote prison, as the most probable means to make the general dislike of their conduct die away. In order to effect this, it seems they sent up some virulent, though groundless, accusations to the King and Council, and obtained an order to remove him from Lancaster.

When they were prepared for his removal, the under-sheriff and bailiffs took him out of the castle, when he was so weakened by lying in that wet and smoky prison, that he could hardly go or stand. They took him into the jailer's house, where Colonel Kirby and others were, who called for some wine to give him; but considering them as the principal authors of his imprisonment, he would not accept their shew of kindness, when suffering so severely under the effects of their malice. The horses being ordered out, he desired to see their order, if they intended to remove him: but they would shew him none but their swords, and haled him out, and lifting him upon one of the sheriff's horses, hurried him that night fourteen miles to Bentham,

Bentham, though he was hardly able to sit on horseback; he was treated with much rudeness and incivility, which gave him occasion to remark to the officers, that he received neither christianity, civility, nor humanity from them.

At Bentham being delivered into the custody of a fresh guard, he was taken on to Giggleswick that night, though exceedingly weak and weary. All this while he was kept in ignorance of the place of his destination; and upon his inquiry of the soldiers, who guarded him, whither he was to be sent? Some of them told him, "beyond sea;" others, "to Tinmouth Castle." Being guarded thence to York, by troopers under Lord Frecheville, they treated him with civility, admitted his friends to visit him on the way, and allowed him two days rest at York, from whence the marshal, and four or five soldiers, conveyed him to Scarborough Castle, his appointed prison.

He was here closely confined, like a prisoner of state, under a military guard; a sentinel being placed on his room in the castle: but he being so weak as frequently to faint, they permitted him at times to walk out for air, with a sentinel to attend him. He was soon removed from his first room to another, little better, if not worse, than that in which he was confined at Lancaster, being so open as to admit the rain, and exceedingly offensive with smoke; inso-much that the governor, Sir Jordan Crossland, in company with Sir Francis Cobb, coming one day to see him, the room was so filled with smoke, that they could hardly find their way out. He laid out about fifty shillings to keep out the rain, and prevent the smoke; and thereby made it tolerable, when he was removed into another still worse, without chimney or fire-place, open to the sea-side, so that the wind-drove in the rain violently, the water fell upon his bed, and when his clothes were wet, being with-

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out fire to dry them, his body was benumbed with cold, and his fingers swelled to double their natural size. Few or none of his friends were suffered to come to him, even to bring him food, wherefore he was under the necessity of hiring others to do it. Whilst his friends were debarred from admission to him, numbers of others were freely admitted, whom curiosity drew to gaze upon him, or who came to dispute with him.

Of these latter he had visitants of most denominations;—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Papists, particularly of the last, (the governor being of that persuasion,) by whom he was much teized.

To the hardships of his imprisonment, his keepers added menaces, in order to terrify him. The deputy governor once told him, "That the King, knowing he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from stirrings and plottings, and one that fought the good of all men."

At length his patience having surmounted the hardships to which he was exposed, and his innocence pleading in his favour with his keepers, they gradually relaxed their severity, and became favourable and respectful to him. The officers would frequently say, he was as stiff as an oak, and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him.

After he had been a prisoner in Scarborough Castle above a year, he laid his case before the King, relating the manner of imprisonment, and the treatment he had met with; subjoining, that he was informed that no man could deliver him but the King himself. His friend Esquire Marsh exerted his endeavours

deavours to procure success to his application, and through the master of requests, obtained the King's order for his release. As soon as this order was brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor, he immediately discharged him.

George Fox was willing to make the governor an acknowledgment for the civility he had lately shewn him, who would not receive any thing, but told him, "Whatever good he could do him or his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt:" which promise his consequent conduct made good.

It was just at this time that a dreadful conflagration broke out in Pudding Lane, over against the place where the Monument is erected, whereby in a few days time the greatest part of the city within the walls was consumed. The inhabitants fled for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moorfields, where they lodged in tents. Many families, who had lived in opulence, were now reduced to distress. For the space of three days the fire spread devastation, and baffled all exertions to stop its progress. At last it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began: when all human efforts failed, it seemed to die away, and to be extinguished on every side, as by a peculiar interposition of Providence.

The Bull and Mouth meeting-house being destroyed by the fire, the meetings of this people continued to be held regularly as they fell in course in their other meeting-houses, which had escaped; viz. Wheeler Street, Peel, Devonshire House, &c. and they had some respite from persecution for a season, until the city was in a measure rebuilt.

The number of the Friends increasing, they built a new meeting-house this year in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street; which, from its central situation, became afterwards the place for their yearly



yearly meetings. Here, as well as in other places, they met with frequent disturbance by the trained bands and informers, being many of them often haled out by force, and obliged to hold their meetings in the street.

The history of this people, from their first rise to this time, presents one continued series of persecution, through the successive revolutions of government; the secular powers, urged on by the ecclesiastics, to whose power and emolument their principles were averse, exerted every effort, short of capital punishment, to lessen their numbers, and stop their progress, and from man they had little countenance; yet notwithstanding, by the support of the divine hand, the society increased, so that they were now become a numerous body.

As soon as George Fox was freed from his confinement, he passed through part of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, visiting his friends, and having many large and edifying meetings amongst them; notwithstanding some attempts to have him taken again, for persecution was still practised in some counties. So proceeding southward through divers counties, he came to London; but was so weak from the greatest part of three years imprisonment, and his joints so benumbed, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horse.

The numbers and the exigencies of the society being increased, he saw it necessary to increase the number of meetings of discipline. The service of these meetings seems to have gradually opened, as the state of the society required. In 1660 we have taken notice of a general meeting for church affairs, held at Skipton in Yorkshire, which had then been held some years, wherein the business was confined to the taking an account of their sufferings, and making collections for the relief of their poor. Afterwards quarterly meetings were established in London,

London; and in other parts, which, in addition to the former subjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the society, to watch over the members, and admonish such as might appear disorderly; the women's meetings for business had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans.

During his stay in London at that time, he felt it his concern to recommend the establishing five monthly meetings of men and women in that city, to transact such matters as had before been the employment of the quarterly meeting, and to unite in a general meeting once in three months, for mutual advice and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs of the whole body of Friends in the city. Having staid here to see his recommendation in part reduced to practice, the advantage resulting therefrom appeared to him so evident, that he found it his duty to make a progress, first through the adjacent counties, and afterwards through many of the more remote, to get these monthly meetings in like manner established throughout the nation. The method and order, wherein the monthly and quarterly meetings were to be established and conducted, he communicated by letter to such counties as he could not visit, and to his friends in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Barbadoes, and the continent of America; whom he afterwards visited in person.

After monthly meetings were established, the service of them still extended. George Fox, after his circuit through the counties; returned to London; there he perceived the expediency of the monthly meetings taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, and therefore recommended it.

From London he continued his travels to other counties, till the meetings for discipline were settled in all, or most parts of the nation, whereby the care over the members of the society was widely spread,

spread, and the body became compacted together in a mutual concern for each other's temporal and spiritual prosperity.

THE DISCIPLINE\* EXERCISED AMONG THE PEOPLE  
CALLED QUAKERS.

THE purposes which our discipline hath chiefly in view, are, the relief of the poor, the maintenance of good order, the support of the testimonies which we believe it is our duty to bear to the world, and the help and recovery of such as are overtaken in faults.

In the practice of discipline, we think it indispensable that the order recommended by Christ himself be invariably observed: "† If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established: and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church."

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, meetings were appointed, at an early period of the society, which, from the times of their being held, were called Quarterly-meetings. It was afterwards found expedient ‡ to divide the districts of those meetings, and to meet more frequently; from whence arose Monthly-meetings, subordinate to those held quarterly. At length, in 1669, ¶ a Yearly-meeting

\* See "A Summary of the Principles of Friends," published by J. Phillips and Son, London.

† Matt. xviii. 15 to 17.

‡ Sewel, 485.

¶ Fox, 390.

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was established, to superintend, assist, and provide rules for the whole; previously to which, general meetings had been occasionally held.

A Monthly-meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations, \* situated within a convenient distance from each other. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring; to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted into membership; † to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty; and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly-meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly-meetings certificates of their membership and conduct; without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each Monthly-meeting is required to appoint certain persons, under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice; and when any case of complaint, or disorderly conduct, comes to their knowledge, to see that private admonition, agreeably to the gospel rule before-mentioned, be given, previously to its being laid before the Monthly-meeting.

When a case is introduced, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed, to visit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and to in-

\* Where this is the case, it is usual for the members of each congregation to form what is called a preparative meeting, because its business is to prepare whatever may occur among themselves, to be laid before the Monthly-meeting.

† On application of this kind, a small committee is appointed to visit the party, and report to the Monthly-meeting; which is directed by our rules not to admit any into membership, without allowing a reasonable time to consider their conduct.

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duce him to forsake and condemn it\*. If they succeed, the person is by minute declared to have made satisfaction for the offence; if not, he is disowned as a member of the society†.

In disputes between individuals, it has long been the decided judgment of the society, that its members should not sue each other at law. It therefore enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or, having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly-meeting that such be disowned.

To Monthly-meetings also belongs the allowing of marriages; for our society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclusive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry appear together and propose their intention to the Monthly-meeting; and if not attended by their parents and guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they be clear of other engagements respecting marriage; and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections be reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is

\* This is generally done by a written acknowledgment, signed by the offender.

† This is done by what is termed a testimony of denial; which is a paper reciting the offence, and sometimes the steps which have led to it; next, the means unavailingly used to reclaim the offender; after that, a clause disowning him; to which is usually added an expression of desire for his repentance, and for his being restored to membership.

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done in a public meeting for worship, towards the close whereof the parties stand up, and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriage the Monthly-meeting keeps a record; as also of the births and burials of its members. A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last-mentioned records; and an order for the interment, countersigned by the grave-maker, of the other. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave a pause is generally made; on both which occasions it frequently falls out, that one or more Friends present have somewhat to express for the edification of those who attend; but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

Several Monthly-meetings compose a Quarterly-meeting. At the Quarterly-meeting are produced written answers from the Monthly-meetings, to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received, are digested into one, which is sent, also in the form of answers to queries, by representatives, to the Yearly-meeting. Appeals from the judgment of Monthly-meetings, are brought to the Quarterly-meetings; whose business also it is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly-meetings over the individuals who compose them.

The Yearly-meeting has the general superintend-

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ence of the society in the country in which it is established; \* and therefore, as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require, or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excites to the observance of those already made; and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly-meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgment of Quarterly-meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other Yearly-meetings.†

In this place it is proper to add, that, as we believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of our Christian discipline; and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety: accordingly they have Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly-meetings of their own sex, held at the same time, and in the same place, with those of the men; but separately, and without the power of making rules: and it may be remarked that during the persecutions, which in the last century occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered,

In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel

\* There are seven Yearly-meetings, viz. 1 London, to which come Representatives from Ireland, 2 New England, 3 New York, 4 Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 5 Maryland, 6 Virginia, 7 The Carolinas and Georgia.

† See the last note.

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of those of either sex,\* who, by their experience in the work of religion, are qualified for that service, the Monthly-meetings are advised to select such, under the denomination of elders. These, and ministers approved by their Monthly-meetings, † have meetings peculiar to themselves, called Meetings of Ministers and Elders; in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who may appear to be weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly-meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly-meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the Meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct.

It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second-day's Morning-meeting, that the revival of manuscripts concerning our principles, previously to publication, is intrusted by the Yearly-meeting held in London; and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly-meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are concerned to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts; in addition to those granted by their Monthly and Quarterly-meetings. When a visit of this kind doth not extend beyond Great Britain, a certificate

\* Fox, 461, 492.

† Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship, are not immediately acknowledged as ministers by their Monthly-meetings; but time is taken for judgment, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will also sometimes happen, that such as are not approved, will obtrude themselves as ministers, to the grief of their brethren; but much forbearance is used towards these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified.



from the Monthly-meeting of which the minister is a member is sufficient; if to Ireland, the concurrence of the Quarterly-meeting is also required. Regulations of similar tendency obtain in other Yearly-meetings.

The Yearly-meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, which hath continued with great use to the society to this day. It is composed of Friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly-meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these correspondents, previously to their being recorded as such, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly-meeting. Those of the men who are approved ministers, are also members of this meeting, which is called the Meeting for Sufferings; a name arising from its original purpose, which is not yet become intirely obsolete.

The Yearly-meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock;\* and, considered as a standing committee of the Yearly-meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the society, and requiring immediate attention: particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government.

There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned, any president, as we believe that

\* This is an occasional voluntary contribution, expended in printing books; house-rent for a clerk, and his wages for keeping records; the passage of ministers who visit their brethren beyond sea; and some small incidental charges.

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Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside; nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member; as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are very voluminous, and require a house for their deposit, (as is the case in London, where the general records of the society in Great Britain are kept,) a clerk is hired to have the care of them; but except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious society.

Thus have we given a view of the foundation and establishment of our discipline; by which it will be seen, that it is not (as hath been frequently insinuated) merely the work of modern times; but was the early care and concern of our pious predecessors.—We cannot better close this short sketch of it, than by observing, that if the exercise of discipline should in some instances appear to press hard upon those, who, neglecting the monitions of Divine Counsel in their hearts, are also unwilling to be accountable to their brethren; yet, if that great, leading, and indispensable rule, enjoined by our Lord, be observed by those who undertake to be active in it, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,”\* it will prevent the censure of the church from falling on any thing but that which really obstructs the progress of Truth. Discipline will then promote, in an eminent degree, that love of our neighbour, which is the mark of discipleship, and without which a profession of love to God, and to his cause, is a vain pretence. “He,” said the beloved disciple, “that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can

\* Matt. vii, 12.

he love God whom he hath not seen? and this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also\*."

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## C H A P. VIII.

VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS IN BERKSHIRE.—TWENTY PREMUNIED, AND TWO SENTENCED TO BANISHMENT.—PERSECUTION IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—WILLIAM PENN, ROBERT BARCLAY, AND MANY OTHERS JOIN WITH FRIENDS.

**D**URING the rebuilding of London persecution abated for a season, not only in the city, but thro' the nation in general: Yet in some parts it was kept alive by some magistrates, who still continued, to harrass the members of this society.

In Berkshire in particular, they had been grievously persecuted for a series of time, from 1663, principally through the antipathy of William Armourer, a justice of peace.

From a meeting at Thomas Curtis's, at Reading, the 27th of the month called March, 1664, having sent thirty-four men to the county jail, for being at a religious meeting, he went again that day week, and finding only two men there, Robert Paine and John Boulton, he committed them to prison after the rest.

He continued to visit their meetings from time to time, till he had imprisoned most, or all the men, and then he proceeded to imprison the women. Some time after, finding only a few children and young maidens in the meeting, he struck one of them with his staff, ordered them to be pulled out, and threatened to send them to prison, if they should come thither any more.

\* 1. John, iv. 20; 21.

At the quarter sessions at Abingdon, the prisoners were called to the bar; but instead of a legal trial, the accustomed snare was resorted to, the tender of the oath of allegiance. The first, who was called, was James Whiteheart, who, coming with his hat on, was ordered to be taken away, without being questioned, whether he would take the oath or not.

The next was Henry Pizeing, not a Quaker, who coming to the bar, with his hat off, and bowing, the judge, (Thomas Holt,) said, "Here's a man has some manners," and asked him, whether he would take the oath of allegiance? to which he replied, "I have taken it already." But, said the judge, "you were no Quaker then." Henry replied, "neither am I now, but have been many weeks among them, and I never saw any hurt by them; but they are an honest civil people." Upon which Armourer stood up and said, "Why did you not tell me so before?" Henry answered, "Your worship was so wrathful, that you would not hear me." The oath being then tendered, he took it, and was discharged.

Several other prisoners being interrogated in like manner, answered, they were not committed on account of the oath, but for being at a meeting, But the oath being insisted upon, Thomas Curtis informed the court, "that he did not refuse the oath through any default of allegiance to the king, but because Christ commanded, not to swear at all;" that he had approved himself a faithful subject, and would take that oath as soon as any; and therefore desired the court to direct one of their ministers to inform him from scripture, how he might take it, and not break the command of Christ. Upon this a priest sitting by was desired to satisfy Thomas in that point: but being cautious of entering into debate upon this subject, he put it off, under the pretence that, "they were an obstinate people, and not to be satisfied.

satisfied. At length Armourer ordered them to be taken away, saying, "I know they will not take it."

Thomas Curtis, against whom and his wife Anne, (whose father, it hath been remarked, lost his life for his fidelity to the king) Armourer bore a particular ill-will, having obtained liberty from the sheriff, whose prisoner he was, to attend Bristol fair, on his trading concerns, Armourer hearing of it, sent for him to an inn, and addressing himself to him, said, "I hear you are going to Bristol fair, but I will stop your journey:" and by arbitrary compulsion, without legal authority, removed him out of the sheriff's custody to the town prison of Reading.

Having gratified his malice so far, as to have Thomas Curtis and his wife both shut up in prison, Thomas's trade and house were under the care of a man and maid servant, whom he threatened also to send to jail, and nailed up the doors, to prevent any more meetings being there. Soon after he sent his warrant to take the man servant, to whom, when brought before him, and the mayor, they tendered the oath of allegiance, and upon his declining it, committed him also to prison; but could not accomplish their design, of preventing the continuance of meetings. Some time after, he committed the maid servant to the house of correction for forty-eight hours. At which time the whole family were in prison.

Whilst Thomas Curtis, his wife, and man servant, were in prison, Armourer sent his man to enquire, if there were any in the house beside the family, and the maid informing him there were not, he came in person a little after, and knocked at the door, which the maid, being in fear, was not forward to open. Armourer then picked the lock, entered the house, and searching it from  
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room to room, found Joseph Cole, whose dwelling was there, and who was confined by indisposition. Armourer, taking him by the arm, and dragging him down stairs, asked him "if he would take the oath of allegiance," which he refusing, was sent to the house of correction, and kept in prison till his death, which happened in 1670.

At the quarter sessions at Reading, the latter end of 1664, about fifty prisoners were brought to the bar, and an indictment read against them for wilfully refusing the oath, to which, at Newbury, sessions, they had pleaded not guilty. The evidences were Sir William Armourer, and the clerk of the peace, who swore that the oath had been tendered to them at the last Abingdon sessions. The council for the king insisted much on the credit of the witnesses, telling the jury, "they must either bring in the prisoners guilty, or they would make Sir William Armourer and the clerk as perjured persons." Nevertheless the jury, on strict enquiry, perceiving that the tender of the oath was irregular, and the clerk acknowledging he could not tell whether it was read before or after they were called over, brought in their verdict, not guilty. Upon which the court broke up, and many of the prisoners being discharged by the jury, went away. But Armourer and some others staying behind, ordered the jailer to call back the Quakers. Thomas Curtis, George Lambold, and their wives, with three others appeared, the rest being gone.

To these they proceeded to tender the oath afresh; whereupon, Thomas Curtis remarked, it was not the part of men of honour, to endeavour to ensnare those whom the jury have cleared. We do believe you aim to ensnare us, and it is our estates you are seeking after. It is well if some of you have not begged them already. George Lambold being next required to take the oath, answered, as to the oath

of obedience, he could promise much, and should keep his promise. Not content with administering the oath to the men, they proceeded to do the same to their wives, to which Anne Curtis remonstrated, that it was a hard case, she should be required to take the oath, being under covert, "and my husband here a sufferer for the very same thing; for," added she, "there is no other woman in England under covert (that I have heard of) who is required to take that oath, and kept in prison on that account." But Armourer in a passionate vulgarism, cried out, "hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back." And so she, with the rest, was sent back to prison.

By the succeeding session at Newbury, Armourer had sent to prison again a considerable number of those who were released at last sessions.

The prisoners, to the number of twenty-six, were continued from sessions to assizes, and from assizes to sessions until near the end of the year; when at the session at Reading, twenty were condemned in premunire, and remanded to prison, and two women convicted of meeting the third time were sentenced to be transported to Barbadoes.

Such a specimen of premunire by wholesale, seems to confirm Thomas Curtis's observation, that it was their estates they wanted; and himself, as one possessed of the greatest property, was not passed by; for, on the 19th of the month called June, this year (1666), John Witham, under sheriff, and Thos. Ross, the Duke of Monmouth's tutor, came to the jail and told Thomas Curtis and George Lambold, they had a warrant from the king, to seize their estates. They seized their books, papers and writings, and one hundred and fifty pounds in money of Thomas Curtis's; then they went to their houses, and took an inventory of what they could find, but  
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on their promise to be answerable for the goods, they did not remove them.

Anne Curtis and Sarah Lambold, were brought to the sessions at Newbury, but their trial was put off. However, Armourer, not being present, the justices granted them their liberty, upon promise of appearing at the next sessions. This displeased Armourer, who presently sent the jailer's man to take them to prison again: the man told him that the justices had given them liberty until the next sessions: To which Armourer replied, "What have the justices to do with my prisoners?" and threatened to lay the man by the heels, if he did not obey his orders: so he sent Sarah Lambold back to prison; but Anne Curtis being gone to Bristol, was out of his reach.

On the same day that her husband's effects were seized, being returned from Bristol, she was, by Armourer's warrant carried again to prison; where, after she had been detained about two months, at the intercession of the persons, who had the charge of her husband's estate, she was set at liberty by an order under Armourer's hand; notwithstanding which, he sometime after remanded her to prison, upon her former commitment, at a time when she was confined to her chamber through indisposition!

As a further illustration of the lawless proceedings of this man and his associates, I shall take notice of a trial at their sessions at Reading, on the 16th of the month called January, 1666.

It was that of Joseph Phipps, for the third offence, on the act of banishment. A Quaker, who had been just before tried, was acquitted; whereupon the court dismissed the jury, and impannelled another. Armourer's direction to the bailiffs being, "Go out and pick a jury, you know there are honest men enough in the town," one of the bailiffs answered, "Yes, Sir William, I'll fit you." Another



ther jury being sworn, Joseph was set to the bar, and having pleaded "not guilty," he insisted there were not five persons of sixteen years of age at the meeting, and therefore he was not within the act. Edward Dolby answered, if there were but one of that age, yet if there were five present, he would send that one to prison as a breaker of the law; for though the rest were not punishable by the act, yet they would serve to make up the number. This unequal construction of the law was pressed upon the jury; as was also the confession of the prisoners, that they were met to seek the Lord. And when one of them asked, whether to seek the Lord was a crime worthy of banishment? the judge answered, yes. The jury went out, but could not agree: such as favoured the prisoners cause were threatened; and they were ordered to be kept up all night without fire or candle. Next morning the court sat again, and sent to know whether they were agreed; one of them said, "I am not satisfied:" yet the foreman said, "Guilty," though four of the jury had not agreed to the verdict: however the judge passed sentence on Phipps, that he should be transported to some of his majesty's plantations, there to remain seven years; under which sentence he was returned to prison, and lay there until discharged by letters patent, about six years after.

In Northamptonshire also, persecution was carried on without relaxation, through this and the succeeding year. Several were tried on the act of banishment, of whom four were sentenced to transportation.

Imprisonments were frequent and numerous. At one time, a constable came with a rabble to a meeting at the house of John Makerness, in Findon, took about forty of the persons assembled, detained them in an alehouse all night, and next day conveyed

veyed them, like criminals, in a cart or waggon, to Justice Yelverton's, who, with another justice, fined them forty shillings, and for non-payment sent them to the county jail for weeks. Another time fifteen men and ten women were carried before Yelverton, who signed a mittimus for committing ten of the men to prison; but another justice's hand being necessary, he directed his clerk to carry it to Justice Ward. The men were again put into the cart, and conveyed with the mittimus to the said justice, but he refused to sign it, and no other was found willing to do it, nor could the jailer legally receive them without the signature of two justices. So the prisoners after being thus driven from justice to justice, were permitted to return home. But some time after six of them were taken by another warrant, and sent to jail; three of whom were afterwards sentenced to transportation. The number of persons of this persuasion, at one time under close confinement in the county jail, was more than fourscore, of whom many were husbandmen, locked up from their business, both in hay time and harvest, to their great detriment.

In 1667-8, William Penn and Robert Barclay, two young men, eminent for their virtue, as well as for their natural abilities, were added to this society.

The former was born in the city of London, 1644. His father, a man of estate and reputation, in the time of the Commonwealth, had filled some of the highest stations in the navy, with honour and fidelity. He retained his post after the restoration, was knighted by Charles II. and peculiarly distinguished as a favourite by the Duke of York. His father's affectionate attention procured him a liberal education; about his fifteenth year, he was entered a student in a college at Oxford.

Sometime after his removal to college, at a meeting

ing of the Quakers, through the ministry of Thomas Loe, he conceived some true ideas of pure and spiritual religion, and was impressed with an ardent desire after the experimental attainment thereof. In consequence, he, with certain other students, were inclined to withdraw from the public worship, and held private meetings for the exercise of religion. This gave offence to the heads of the college, and he, at sixteen years of age, was fined for non-conformity; but this punishment not abating the fervour of his zeal, he was at length expelled.

From thence he returned home; but still took delight in the company of religious people, from whom his father fearing he might contract a turn of mind little accommodated to advance him to that preferment in the state, which he fondly flattered himself, his interest might procure him, he endeavoured, both by words and blows, to deter him therefrom; but finding those methods ineffectual, he was so incensed, that he turned him out of doors.

Patience surmounted this difficulty, until his father's affection subdued his anger; who then sent him to France, in company with some persons of quality. He continued there a considerable time, until his conversation amongst that gay people, diverted his mind from serious thoughts. At his return, his father finding him not only a good proficient in the French language, but polite in his behaviour, flattering himself with the success of his scheme, welcomed him with a joyful reception.

For some time after his return from France, his behaviour procured him the character of an accomplished gentleman, and of consequence the estimation of his acquaintance; but amidst the flatteries of men, he found a disturber within his own bosom, reminding him of his former good resolutions, and of a state of futurity. And though guilty of nothing,  
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which the world terms criminal, yet he was sensible he had lost ground, as to the attainment of that inward purity of heart, in which he had seen the substance of religion to consist; and was renewed into an earnest desire of regaining what he had lost. But in directing his attention this way, he suffered a painful spiritual conflict: his natural inclination, lively disposition, and acquired accomplishments, his father's favour, and the respect of his friends, were so many incentives, to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, then courting his acquaintance; and were mountains of opposition in his way to adopt that pure religion, which might endanger his relinquishing them all.

In 1666, his father having committed to his care a considerable estate in Ireland, he went over to that kingdom, and being in the city of Cork, he was informed that Thomas Loe was likely to be at a meeting there: he went to hear him: who began his public testimony in these words, "There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world:" upon which subject he enlarged with great clearness and energy: and by the powerful testimony of this man (whose ministry had made profitable impression upon him several years before) he was so thoroughly convinced, that from this time he joined the society of the Quakers, and constantly attended their meetings through all the heat of persecution.

It was not long before his father was informed by a nobleman, what danger his son was in, of being profelyted to Quakerism, whereupon he remanded him home; and although there was no great alteration in his dress, yet the seriousness of his deportment, was a manifest indication of the truth of the information his father had received, who thereupon renewed his efforts, to bring him off from a way of thinking, which would disappoint all his hopes, of  
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seeing him advanced at court : but his efforts proved in vain.

At length, finding him too firmly fixed in these principles, to be brought to a general compliance with the customary compliments of the times, his father seemed inclinable to have borne with him in other respects, provided he would appear uncovered in the presence of the king, the duke, and himself; which being proposed to him, he desired time to consider of it, and retiring to his chamber, humbled himself with fasting and supplication, to receive divine direction, and was so strengthened in his mind, that, returning to his father, he humbly signified that he could not comply with his desire.

When all endeavours proved ineffectual, his father turned him out of doors the second time, whereby he was exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence except what his mother privately sent to him.

Being called to the ministry about the twenty-fourth year of his age, he approved himself a workman that need not be ashamed. Nor was he only distinguished for his labours in the ministry, but also for his writings in defence of the principles he had adopted, and for propagating the practice of piety among mankind in general\*.

Robert Barclay was exempted from the severe obstructions and discouragements, which stood in the way of William Penn's embracing this profession, his father having adopted it before him. He also was well descended, and had received the advantage of a good education. He was the son of Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, near Aberdeen. He was born in Edinburgh, 1648, and in his infancy he

\* See "NO CROSS NO CROWN," containing the living and dying testimonies of many persons of fame and learning, both of ancient and modern times, in favour of the power of religion on the mind.

was educated among the Calvinists, in his own country ; but early removed from thence, for the sake of an opportunity of a more extensive education under the tuition of his uncle, who was president of the Scotch college at Paris, where he attained a proficiency in the French language as well as the Latin, with other branches of literature.

The Papists endeavoured to make a proselyte of him ; and their endeavours, in that tender age, made some impression upon him ; but as his judgment ripened, he soon discovered the errors of their religious system. He returned home about 1664, in the 16th year of his age, and during his absence his father having joined himself in fellowship with the Quakers, by his example, as well as the converse and conduct of others of that profession, he was impressed with the excellency of that religion, which produced so remarkable a consistency of conduct in life and conversation.

Under this impression, he was induced \* to attend the religious meetings of this people ; and, in 1667, he made public profession of their principles, taking up his cross to the glory and friendship of the world, manifesting that the contemptible name of a Quaker could not deter him from following, owning, and defending truth, wherever to be found ; esteeming all things as dross, in comparison of the knowledge of Christ, which he intently sought

\* " It was not by the strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth ; but by being secretly reached by the [principle of light and life, to which they were gathered] for when I came into the *silent assemblies* of God's people, I felt a *secret power* among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way to it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed." *Barclay's Apology*, Pro. 11. § 7.

after

after as his greatest honour. He laboured in his ministry to bring others to the knowledge of God, and his labour was not in vain: he was also much engaged in controversy with the opponents and slanderers of the society, chiefly with his own countrymen, both verbally and in writing. In short, by means of his essays, and those of William Penn and some other cotemporary writers, as George Whitehead, Thomas Elwood, and Isaac Pennington, &c. those principles, hitherto exposed to contempt and odium, by the form wherein their adversaries had represented them to public view, began to put on a more pleasing appearance, whereby the candid and dispassionate part of mankind, were ready to own them to be no absurd combination of wild notions, but a regular system of important; rational, and practical truths.

About this time Roger Haydock, of Lancashire, came over to this society, whose conversion had something peculiar in it. His elder brother John having joined their communion, occasioned considerable uneasiness to his mother, a zealous Presbyterian; when Roger coming to his father's house; and being reputed a learned man, she prevailed upon him to use his endeavours to convince his brother of the absurdity of his choice: he accordingly entered into discourse with him, when John gave him such cogent reasons for his change, as soon put him to silence; his mother being displeased that he did not hold out the argument more stoutly, he told her, "it was truth, and he could not gainsay it." Being thus brought to the acknowledgement of the truth, he soon came to make public profession thereof, and in process of time became an eminent minister and a serviceable member of this society.

Miles Halhead, travelling this year in Devonshire, and being brought before the magistrates,  
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was asked, what business he (who dwelt in Westmoreland) had in Devonshire? to which he answered, that he was come to see some, whom formerly he had acquaintance with. One of the magistrates asked him, what were the names of his friends he meant; upon which he named several former magistrates of that county: one of the present magistrates remarked, "Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls these his friends, yet they have been his persecutors." Another of the magistrates then gave him an account of the disasters which had befallen them, and how they had lost their estates; that one of them having been imprisoned for high treason, had escaped out of jail and had fled the country; adding, "if these men were your persecutors, you may be sure they will trouble you no more; for if they that persecuted you have no better fortune than these men, I wish that neither I nor any of my friends may have any hand in persecuting you."

In this year Richard Farnsworth laid down the body in the city of London. He was one of the first that received George Fox's testimony, soon after his release from imprisonment at Derby, while the name of Quaker was but just known; and joined him in society and ministerial labour. Many were strengthened by him to forsake the evil of their ways; he also partook in the sufferings to which they were exposed.

About 1656, walking with one of his friends in the street of Banbury, he met the mayor and a justice of the peace, whose name was Allen. And because he did not put off his hat to them, Allen in a passion struck it off his head. They afterwards sent for him, and committed him to prison. Next day, they sent for him, and told him, if he would pay the jailer's fees and promise to go out of the town that night, he should have his liberty: but he would



would promise nothing. Wherefore, to cover their unlawful procedure, they tendered him the oath of abjuration, and his refusal furnished them with a pretence for his recommitment to prison, where he lay six months.

After about fifteen years spent in suffering for those doctrines, he had received as truth, he was taken ill in London, and a short time before his departure, gave the following evidence of his full assurance of faith, and exhortation to his friends with affecting energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health: "Friends, God hath been mightily with me, and supported me at this time, and his presence and power have encompassed me all along; God hath appeared for the owning of my testimony.—I am filled with his love more than I am able to express.—God hath really appeared for us.—Therefore I beseech you, friends, here of the city of London, whether I live or die, be you faithful to the testimony which God hath committed to you,"

In Berkshire, Armourer continued his arbitrary proceedings through this year, while persecution subsided in a great measure in most other parts\*. Coming with his man to the meeting, the man looking in at the door and going out again, pulled the door after him, which having a spring lock shut

\* The Earl of Clarendon, prime minister to King Charles, and reputed to have been a principal promoter of the severities hitherto inflicted on the dissenters, and contriver of the penal laws, about this time lost his influence, and became himself obnoxious: this gave the dissenters encouragement to hope for more ease, which they enjoyed for a season: and perhaps it may not be unworthy of remark, that with what measure he had meted, it was measured out to him again: for he, who had been instrumental to the imprisoning and banishment of numbers of innocent persons for no cause, or on trivial grounds, was himself at last condemned to banishment on similar accusations.

them

them out. His master finding the door fast, called for a sledge to break it, but one within opening it, he manifested the violence of his temper by saying, if it had not been opened for him, he would have broken it open. He sent nine of the persons assembled to prison; one of them, Mary Coale, (whose husband was under sentence of premunire,) he committed for six months; three women were committed on the third offence in order to banishment.

At the succeeding assizes at Abingdon, they were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, but their trial was postponed. Henry Adams on a like indictment was tried, but no record of his first or second offence could be produced, nor did any witness appear to prove a third offence, so that the jury brought him in, *not guilty*. This verdict being displeasing to the court, the jury were sent back, and by Assourer's influence and menaces, who swore that the records, though lost, were true, some of the jury brought in a contrary verdict, which the rest, through fear, did not oppose. Upon which the prisoner was remanded to jail; but no sentence pronounced against him in court. He continued in prison five years, till released with others in 1672.

Though the Quakers were in 1668 less disturbed by the government than in the foregoing years, yet they met with some trouble from another quarter: for as soon as the suspension of persecution encouraged other dissenters to officiate publicly, they were very invektive against the Quakers. Two persons, hearers of Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian preacher, going to the Quakers meetings, to see for themselves, whether they were so erroneous as they had been represented to be, were convinced, and joined their society. This so irritated Vincent, that he indulged his passion in a licence of expression,  
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not only beyond the bounds of Christian moderation, but of common decency.

These railing accusations coming to the ears of some of the people at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a public meeting, to vindicate themselves from these aspersions, or give him an opportunity to prove them, if he were able; to which, after some demur, he agreed; but took care to have the house filled, before the hour appointed with his own partisans.

George Whitehead and William Penn attended this meeting, to hear what erroneous doctrines Vincent would charge the Quakers with, and what proofs he could bring; but instead thereof he took upon him the office of a catechist, opening the conference with this question, "Whether they owned one Godhead, in three distinct and separate persons?" On which subject framing an inconclusive and unintelligible syllogism, after the manner of argumentation then in use, George Whitehead rejected his terms as not to be found in scripture, nor deducible from the text he instanced; wherefore he desired him to explain the terms so that they might be understood, inasmuch as God did not use to wrap his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them in plain language; but they would neither keep to scripture terms, nor allow them to their antagonists; and after much insulting language, Vincent desired the people to withdraw, giving them an example by retreating himself, with three priests, his coadjutors.

They applied to Thomas Vincent for another opportunity, but he evaded it. Wherefore William Penn appealed to the public in a little piece, entitled, "The sandy Foundation shaken," which gave offence to some powerful ecclesiastics, who presently applied to their accustomed method of refuting what they call error, viz. for an order for imprisoning

ing him; and he was committed to the Tower of London. There he was under close confinement, and even denied the visits of his friends; but yet his enemies attained not their purpose. For when his servant brought him word, that the bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, he signified his resolution also that his prison should be his grave, before he would yield in violation of conscience.

Precluded from the opportunity of promoting piety by his ministerial labours, he applied himself to promote it by writing. Several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly that excellent one, entitled, "No Cross no Crown."

And in order to clear himself from the aspersions cast upon him in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. he published a piece called "Innocency with her open Face," by way of apology for "The sandy Foundation shaken," in which he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after he was released from his imprisonment, which had been of seven months continuance.

The latter part of this year and beginning of the next, three eminent and serviceable members of this society died, viz. Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale, and Francis Howgill. With the abilities and qualifications of Thomas Loe, the reader hath been partly made acquainted at his first introduction into this work. He visited Ireland several times, travelled in divers parts of England, and was several times imprisoned for his testimony. By his travels and labours his natural strength was impaired, and coming to London this year, (1668,) he was there seized with that disease, which terminated his labours and his existence in the body.

His pious end was agreeable to the tenor of his life, having, in the time of health, steadily pursued that good part which should never be taken from  
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him, he felt the consolation thereof in his bodily weakness. At which time being visited by William Penn, for whom he cherished the best desires to the last, he addressed to him the following exhortation: "Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." This dying testimony of his honoured friend must have been a comfortable and confirming evidence to William Penn of the solidity of that religion, of which he had been effectually convinced by him. At another time Thomas Loe said to his friends that stood by his bed-side, "Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart. The Lord is good to me, this day he hath covered me with his glory, I am weak but am refreshed to see you." Another friend asking him how he was, he answered, "I am near leaving you, I think, but am as well in my spirit as I can desire; I bless the Lord; I never saw more of the glory of God than I have done this day." Thus rejoicing in hope till his end; his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that Almighty Being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end.

Josiah Coale was born at Winterbourn, Gloucestershire, and was one amongst the great number of those convinced by the ministry of John Audland, about the year 1655.

To him, with his brethren, it was given not only to believe in the truth, but to suffer for it. He was hardly distinguished as a member of this society, before he was imprisoned in 1656 in Newgate, in Bristol, with Thomas Robertson, for bearing testimony  
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to the truth in one of the public places of worship, having been first abused by the populace, and dragged bareheaded under the spouts in a time of rain. In the same year at Melcomb Regis, in Dorsetshire, Josiah with three other Friends, for exhorting the people to piety, (after being violently beaten by them,) were by the mayor committed to prison.

In the year 1658, believing it his duty to pay a religious visit to the English Colonies in America, and not being able to procure a passage to New England, (no master of a ship being willing to take him, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such of them as should bring in any Quakers,) he, in company with Thomas Thirston, got a passage to Virginia, whence they made their way on foot through a tract of wilderness of several hundred miles, till then deemed impassable for any but the native Indians. By the Indians (of the Susquehanna Tribe) these strangers were not only entertained with the best lodging and provisions which they had, but provided with guides to conduct them to the Dutch plantations, from which they proceeded to New England. Yet the journey through that uncultivated wilderness, was attended with much hardship; for they had not only to encounter with the winter season, but were often in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, or perishing in marshes and bogs. So that even their adversaries admired at their preservation, in which more than human power was manifested.

In New England he partook of the treatment usually given to his friends in that jurisdiction. Being in company with John Copeland, in a Friend's house at Sandwich, they were both seized there, haled out in a violent manner, and sent to prison. He was some time after banished from Maryland. He travelled also through Maryland and Barbadoes; and in Europe through most parts of England, and

in Holland and the Low Countries, in the work of the ministry.

To this service he devoted the prime of his life and strength, and continued unmarried, that, being disengaged from worldly cares, he might be more at liberty to attend to his ministry. Disinterested in his endeavours to promote pure religion, he was careful not to make the gospel chargeable; but having an estate of his own, he freely spent it in the best service: and not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home.

His natural temper was cheerful; but religion tempering it with seriousness, and his unaffected affability and exemplary demeanour, illustrating the purity of his religion, was an ornament to his profession, and a confirmation in the truth to those whom his ministry had converted.

Having by hardships in his travels, imprisonments, and zealous services for the space of twelve years, wasted his natural strength, he finished a useful and virtuous life; at a middle age, by a gradual decline.

During his illness George Fox visiting him, inquired "Whether any thing lay on his mind to the Friends in England?" But he signified, that having discharged his duty fully in his travels amongst them, he had nothing on his mind to write. George, after praying by him, seeing him grow heavy, advised him to lie down, which he did; but being more uneasy in this posture, he soon rose again with the help of his friends, and sitting on the side of the bed, with an affecting power he addressed his friends sitting by with the following exhortation; "Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory, and seek nothing for self or your own glory: and if any thing of that arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that  
so

so you may stand approved in his sight, and answer his witness in all people; then will you have the reward of life. For my part I have thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord: his Majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So mind my love to all my friends." He said to Stephen Crisp, "Dear heart, keep low in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for ever." A little afterwards fainting, and being supported by his friends, he departed in their arms, as one falling into an easy sleep, at the age of thirty-five years and two months.

As Francis Howgill was one of the principal persons amongst the first promulgators of the doctrines of this society, his qualifications, his virtues, his services, and his sufferings, have been in various instances laid before the reader. We left him confined in prison under sentence of præmunire, from which he was only released by death. He lay near five years under this sentence, deprived of every comfort and convenience in the power of his persecutors to take from him.

This valuable member of society was a native of Westmoreland, educated in the profession of the established religion, and trained up at the University, in order to be ordained to the priest's office; but being scrupulous of complying with the ceremonies thereof, he withdrew from that communion, joined in society with the Independents, and became a preacher of eminence among them, being in esteem no less for his exemplary conversation, than for a zealous discharge of his duty as a minister. Yet still he found not that satisfaction which he desired. The prevailing opinion that Christ had taken the guilt of sin upon himself, he was afraid to repose his dependence upon, remembering, "His servant thou art, whom thou obeyest." Increasing in understanding, it was revealed in him, that the Lord



would teach the people himself, and the time approached nigh. It was not long before George Fox had that remarkable meeting at Firbank Chapel, where Francis officiated, and hearing him assert that, "the light of Christ in man shews the way to Christ," he was deeply affected thereby, believing it to be truth. He now forsook the Independents, joined himself to the persecuted society of the Quakers, and in silence and patient resignation, bearing the administration of condemnation for sin, until he was favoured to experience a happy transition to the dispensation of justification in righteousness, and fitted for the reception of a gift in the ministry. But upon his public appearance as a minister among this people, both the priests and magistrates, his former friends and admirers, became his enemies; he was confined by their means in Appleby prison, and detained there for some time without any legal cause. After his release, he prosecuted his service in the ministry with diligence, travelling about mostly on foot. He and Edward Burrough were almost constant companions.

In 1661, being in London, he suffered imprisonment amongst his friends taken up in consequence of the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men. And after he was set at liberty, continued his labours and travels as before, till 1663, when he was summoned to appear before the magistrates at Kendal, as before related, and in consequence premunired and imprisoned for life. On the 20th of 11mo. called January, 1668-9, he finished his course, in the prison at Appleby, after a sickness of nine days.

Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him in his sickness, and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he answered, "He hath done it." A few hours before he departed, some  
 Friends

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 295

Friends from other places being come to visit him, he inquired after their welfare, and prayed fervently, "That the Lord by his mighty power might preserve them out of all such things as might spot and defile." His voice then failed, yet recovering again, he said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith in which I lived and suffered for." After these words, he uttered some others in prayer, and so finished his life in perfect peace in the fiftieth year of his age.

The Friends appear to have been but little disturbed by the civil power through this year, in comparison of the former, their sufferings being mostly by excommunications, imprisonments, and distrains, for their scruple against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which, however, were unreasonably severe.\*

In the spring of this year, George Fox, travelling in the northern counties, received intelligence, when he came into Lancashire, that Colonel Kirby had threatened, that if he came into those parts he would cast him into prison; but at the time of his coming, Kirby being confined by the gout, he escaped out of his hands, continued his journey to Liverpool, and embarked from thence with John Stubbs and Thomas Briggs for Ireland, spent some time in visiting Friends in that nation, and soon after his return, married Margaret Fell.

## W A L E S.

THE number of this people being considerably increased in Wales, they were exposed to the like

\* See Bessé's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 7, p. 202, &c.

severities with Friends in England, even before the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men had furnished a palliative for violating the King's promise of protection to tender consciences.

In Merionethshire, in the month called August, 1660, about fourteen Friends being met for religious worship, were assaulted by Alban Vaughan, and several rude persons armed with swords, who haled them out of the meeting, and threatened to carry them to Carmarthen Castle, twenty-six miles off; but after they had driven them about two miles, frequently striking them with their swords, they left them. A few days after the same body on horseback came to the dwelling houses of those they had thus abused, and haled them out by violence, some out of their beds, wounding, beating, and bruising several; and drove them on foot before their horses twenty miles to Bala. Four of them were required to take the oath of allegiance, and for refusing it, were committed to the jailer's custody, who put them in irons, and caused them to go fettered twelve miles to prison, where he kept them, with others of their friends, above twenty in all, about fifteen or sixteen weeks, not suffering any to carry them food or other necessaries, taking away their Bibles, inkhorns, knives, and money, and daily insulting and abusing them.

Nor was the abuse and imprisonment of their persons a sufficient gratification of the malignity or avarice of their persecutors; exorbitant depredation was added to personal injury: for several persons, during their imprisonment, had their cattle seized in great numbers, about six hundred and fifty head in all, which were driven to Bala, there sold, and the amount disposed of at pleasure, without rendering any account thereof to the owners!

They continued to be harrassed in like manner in different parts of this principality; their-meetings

ings being broken up by soldiers, who generally took the men to some justice, to tender them the oaths, and for their refusal drove them in crowds to prison, until the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men broke out, upon which the Friends in Wales suffered equally with their brethren in the different parts of England. Francis Winson was taken out of his own house by soldiers, kept two days under guard, and sixteen days at the marshal's house, where he was hardly used; after which he was brought before the commissioners, who tendered him the oath, and sent him to prison, where he was shut up in a dungeon. He was a poor labouring man, had a wife and five small children, whose subsistence depending upon his labour, they suffered much hardship by reason of his confinement.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of the month called January, Walter Jenkins, John Williams, Philip Williams, and Charles Jenkins, were forcibly taken out of their beds, their doors being broken open by a party of horse, several of whose officers were papists. They broke open their trunks under pretence of searching for arms, and though they discovered none, they drove these inoffensive men several miles, through mire and dirt, to an old castle, where they were detained until the next morning, when the captain of the troop came, and ordered a party to conduct them to Monmouth, who drove them thither most inhumanly along the dirty road, not suffering them to walk on the foot-way. The mayor of Monmouth committed them to prison for refusing to swear, where they were confined in a place offensive by its filthiness to an extraordinary degree. Hither William John, who was taken from his business in the field, was sent to bear them company, where being confined together, several of them fell sick, through the unwholesome air of their prison, upon which the jailer removed them to his own house.

Such was the bitterness of the persecutors, that the mere name of Quaker exposed those that bore it to the loss of liberty, and in consequence of these orders, forty persons were sent to prison at Cardiff.

At Shrewsbury the number of prisoners being also large, many Friends came to visit and assist them. As soon as the soldiers who kept guard at the prison discovered any of these, they immediately apprehended them, and carried them to the mayor, who tendered them the oath, and sent them to prison. One of them, Elizabeth Holme, only for this office of affection and duty, had her horse seized, and herself detained in prison with her husband.

## SCOTLAND.

IN 1659, Stephen Crisp travelled into Scotland, to preach the gospel there, and some time after William Dewsbury followed him; the testimony of these faithful witnesses reached the consciences of many who heard them, and amongst these some noted professors in Aberdeen, particularly Alexander Jaffray, who had been chief magistrate of that city, a man in repute amongst the highest professors of religion, and Margaret Molleson, wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate of Aberdeen, a woman of distinguished good character.

Alexander Jaffray, soon after his convincement, removed to Inverary, and was instrumental to settle a meeting there: by means whereof, several having the opportunity of hearing the doctrines of this people, were convinced: of these were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robinson. After some time James Urquhart fell under

der the censure of the presbytery, and was excommunicated; the excommunication was sent to William Forbes, priest of the place of Urquhart's residence, with an injunction from the presbytery for him to publish it from the pulpit. To complying with this injunction he felt great reluctance, from a conviction of the integrity of the person he was enjoined to read the sentence against; but under the prospect of the probable loss of his stipend, in case of his disobeying the presbytery, he publicly pronounced the sentence against him, in direct opposition to the dictates of his conscience. He afterwards fell under great uneasiness, which discomposed him to so great a degree, that for some time he was disqualified from performing the offices of his function, until at length he made this ingenuous confession: "That his discomposure was a just judgment upon him, for cursing with his tongue a person whom he believed in his own conscience to be a very honest man." But notwithstanding the strength of his convictions at that time, he afterwards fell into the like error in a case more nearly affecting him; his own daughter, Jane Forbes, was convinced of the principles of Friends: proceedings were carried on against her to an excommunication, which her father was required by the presbytery to pronounce. It is easy to imagine in how distressing an alternative he must be hereby involved, under the prospect of either wounding his conscience and parental feelings, or be ejected from his living for disobeying the presbytery. The anxious conflict between conscience and self-interest was too oppressive for nature to support; he determined to read the excommunication, but was suddenly struck with death, at the very time he purposed to do it.

About the same time with James Urquhart before mentioned, George Gray and Agnes Simon were  
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convinced, two persons so highly thought of, that the priest of the parish whereto they belonged made it his boast, that he had a weaver and a poor woman whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equal, either in knowledge or a good life.

Agnes Simon, after her conviction, opened her house for the keeping of religious meetings, and the neighbouring people flocked there in such numbers, that her house could not contain them, wherefore they met in the open field, where Patrick Livingstone was made instrumental, with some others, to the conviction of many in those parts. This conviction drawing away many of their hearers, alarmed the priests of Aberdeen, viz. George Meldrum and John Menzies, and others, who in consequence thereof exerted their endeavours to prevent the progress of this people, by aspersing them from the pulpit, in order to incense the magistrates to suppress them. Their efforts to excite the magistrates against them met not with the wished-for success; attempts being, in several instances, frustrated. But with the populace, their slanders had more influence, for it frequently happened that as soon as any of this persuasion appeared in their streets, a mob gathered about them, stoning, beating and abusing them as they passed along.

Being less successful with the secular power than they desired, inimical as their principles were to the power and office of bishops, these priests, to compass their aim, made no scruple to excite the bishop of Aberdeen, and by his means Archbishop Sharp, to exert their power against the Quakers. Andrew Jaffray, a man of blameless life, and of good esteem, at their suggestion was summoned to appear before the high commission court, where he was enabled to bear a faithful testimony to the truth; and although the archbishop himself entered into a conference with him, he could gain no advantage in argument  
against

against him; yet to satisfy the priests, the court passed sentence upon him, "That he should be confined to his own dwelling house, and keep no meetings therein, nor go any whither without the bishop's license, under the penalty of a fine of 600 marks," which they esteemed to be one fourth of his yearly rents. By the like means, at the suggestion of James Gordon, priest of Alford, to the bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Forbes of Archinhamper, and Alexander Gelly, were apprehended, carried away to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Cannongate tolbooth some time.

By these rigorous proceedings the priests did not attain their desire, others from time to time fell off from them, and joined the Quakers by conviction, and amongst them David Barclay of Ury, adopted their profession, and steadfastly continued therein the remainder of his days. His son Robert was also convinced as before remarked. As was about the same time Lilius Skein, wife of Alexander Skein, one of the magistrates of Aberdeen, a woman much esteemed for her religious accomplishments, and in a particular manner by Geo. Meldrum their priest. She was convinced or confirmed in her conviction by a very remarkable circumstance. She was actuated by an earnest desire to find out the way of truth, but discouraged from looking towards this society by prepossessions industriously instilled into her mind by the priests against that people, that "they denied the scriptures, and did not pray in the name of Jesus, of whom the scriptures testify." But being visited with indisposition, she kept her chamber in an apartment under the same roof with Barbara Forbes, one of that society, at whose dwelling the Quakers sometimes met, so near Lilius's apartments that she could distinctly hear what passed: here, attentively listening, she heard two Englishwomen exercised  
both



both in preaching and praying, whose testimonies she observed to be replete with scripture expressions, and their prayers put up in the name of Jesus, and attended with life and power. From this demonstrative confutation of the calumniating accusations of these priests, she was freed from their prepossessions, withdrew from their communion, and joined in society with that people. Not long after her husband, who had been a zealous opposer of them, became a sincere convert to their principles.

## IRELAND.

ROBERT TURNER\* having about the year 1657 been instrumental to the conviction of some persons who resided about Grange near Charlemont, and by means of the labours of other Friends, who travelled in the exercise of their ministerial gifts, their numbers increasing, a meeting was settled there this year, which continues a large meeting at the present time.

Upon the rising of the Fifth-monarchy-men, the Quakers in this nation shared deeply in the like severities with their brethren in England: so that before the end of the year there was a general imprisonment of them through the kingdom†; but neither the governors nor inferior magistrates in general seem to have been influenced against them to an equal degree of animosity with those in England. W. Edmundson, being then a prisoner, obtained liberty for about twenty days from the sheriff, whereupon he went to Dublin, and solicited

\* Ratty.

† See William Edmundson's Journal.

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the earls of Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Eustace, justices, to set his friends at liberty, who were imprisoned in different parts of the nation, and was so successful as to obtain an order for their release. Copies of the order being procured and signed by the justices, were forwarded to the sheriffs of the several counties, where any of his friends were prisoners.

Soon after he visited the meetings of his friends through the nation, and it appeared that the sheriffs had generally complied with the order. In about six weeks he returned home; but found his friends in the Queen's county still detained in prison for their fees. This occasioned him another journey to Dublin, taking with him a certificate which was signed by three of the justices present, who did not approve of the sheriff's conduct.

He then renewed his application to the justices, and through the favour of the Earl of Mountrath (who, as well as his son after him, entertained a personal regard for W. Edmundson, and a benevolent disposition towards Friends in general) he readily procured an order\* to the sheriff to set Friends at liberty without paying fees to any person.

Yet there were some magistrates whose treatment of this people resembled the severity of those in England, particularly in this year Judge Alexander, who caused Henry Rose, Thomas Shannon, and nine others, who had been apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison at Carlow by John Masters, Portrieve, without examination or mittimus in

\* The good effect of this order, and the benevolent disposition of many magistrates, is farther evinced by the testimony of Edward Cooke, in a letter from Dublin, 1660, in which he writes, "Friends are generally well, and none in prison but in Cork, where we expect shortly to be released; the justices are very ready to help us at their sessions, so that at present we have no just cause to appeal any where else."

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writing, and had been indicted at the quarter sessions, and by the jury found "Not guilty," to be again indicted at the assizes, and being found guilty of meeting, he fined them 320l.

At Cork he fined Alex<sup>r</sup>. Atkins, Philip Dymond, Thomas Cooke, and several other prisoners, 1190l. on the same account. And at Waterford, upon William Blanch, William Wright and eight others, he imposed a fine of 580l. And at Limerick sundry Friends being prisoners for the same cause of simply meeting together, he fined them 40l. each, and remanded them to prison, where they continued four months, till released by an order from the lords justices.

In 1665, they were also here, as well as in England, liable to sufferings and spoil of goods from self-interested ecclesiasticks, who by themselves or agents frequently took distresses from them manifold their demands. Many were imprisoned, and long continued in prison on writs of excommunication, to which some of the clergy endeavoured to give the force of an outlawry. George Clapham, priest of Mountmelick in the Queen's county, having procured the excommunication of William Edmundson, and several others, endeavoured to deter the millers from grinding their corn for the use of their families, or any to speak or trade with them\*: he watched the markets and the Quakers shops, and to those he knew to deal with them, he would send an apparitor to summon them to the bishop's court, the apprehension whereof generally terrified them into a pecuniary composition both with the priest and apparitor, to get free from the effects of a prosecution in this dreaded court.

Ireland at this time was governed by men of moderation. The primate Boyle, who was also chancel-

\* William Edmundson's Journal.

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lor, appears to have been a discreet and judicious governor, who knew how to distinguish between real and imputed disloyalty; between the administration of legal and arbitrary rule; and to establish the authority of the governor in the justice and humanity of the man. W. Edmundson drew up a narrative of Clapham's gross proceedings, and got it attested by the signature of several of his own people, with which he went to Dublin, and petitioned the government upon the subject thereof. The primate, as well as the privy council, before which it was laid, immediately issued an order for the priest and apparitor to appear before the council. They appeared accordingly, and met with severe reproof. The primate said he would make examples of them, and would have had them punished; but W. Edmundson said, he and his friends wanted nothing more by their application, than a stop to be put to such cruelty, in order that they might live peaceably. The primate bade William, if they did not desist from such proceedings, only write to him, and "he would make them examples to the nation." So William forgave them, and let the matter drop.

Clapham being incensed against W. Edmundson, for bringing him under the censure of his superiors, continued to be vexatious to him and his friends, as far as in his power. Having procured a neighbour's horse and car, he came to William's house, loaded and carried away a considerable quantity of cheese from him, and much goods, corn, and even wearing apparel from other Friends of the meeting, to which he belonged, for church rates; and not satisfied herewith, he, being a justice of peace, sent a constable to apprehend W. Edmundson (from a meeting at Mountmelick) and made a mittimus to send him to Maryborough jail; but the earl of Mountrath superseded his warrant, and set William at liberty till the ensuing assizes, at which the earl patronizing

patronizing his cause, and four lawyers pleading for him unfeed, the indictments were quashed.

Notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, he continued by various efforts to bring both W. Edmundson and several others into trouble. William went again to Dublin, and presented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant and Council: himself and another friend were admitted into the council-chamber, and after a patient and candid hearing, the council gave judgment that the proceedings against them were illegal. The Lord Lieutenant being desirous to be informed why they did not pay tithes to the ministers, W. Edmundson informed him from the Scriptures, that "the law was ended that gave tithes, and the priesthood ended that received them, by the coming and suffering of Christ, who had settled a ministry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance." He then inquired what maintenance the ministers must have? and William replied, Christ's allowance, pointing out from the Scriptures what that was. There were three bishops present, but none of them made any objection in reply. The Lord Lieutenant, in conclusion, bid "God bless them;" adding that "they should not suffer for not going to the public worship, nor for going to their own meetings." This favourable disposition of the chief ruler awed the priest into quietness, and occasioned a public opinion that the Quakers had received a toleration of their religion, which was productive of much ease to the members of this society.

But in 1667 persecution grew hot in Cork, through the intemperate rancour of Christopher Rye, mayor of that city, to the members of this society, who imprisoned them in great numbers, only for keeping up their religious meetings, and caused their imprisonment to be particularly severe; and amongst other respectable inhabitants of the city,  
Richard

Richard Pike, who lost his life by cold and distemper, contracted in the jail; and W. Penn, lately convinced there, as before related, who, during his residence in these parts, having contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, wrote to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, acquainting him with the cause and manner of their imprisonment, and soliciting him to interpose his authority for restoring them to their liberty, which request, so far as related to himself, was readily granted, the earl immediately ordering his discharge\*.

In the forepart of the year 1669, G. Fox landing in that nation in company with Robert Lodge and some other friends, seconded his epistolary advice, by his presence and personal assistance in settling men's and women's meetings for discipline.

By which establishment the society in that nation (as well as in England) became a compact body, united in a benevolent concern for the mutual help and edification one of another, and of the body in general.

## ISLE OF MAN.

UNDER the arbitrary governor (then Earl of Derby) and the uncontrolled power of a rigid prelate†, persecution was continued with additional severity (after the restoration) against the few residents in this island, who went under the denomination of Quakers.

William Callow and Evan Christen, the former

\* Rutty.

† Bishop of Sodor and Man.

for refusing to pay sixteen-pence, and the latter two-pence, demanded by a priest "for bread and wine for the sacrament," were committed to Castle-Peel, and shut up in a dismal dungeon without fire or candle, having only straw to lie upon, and a stone for their pillow. Here they lay sixteen days, until some neighbours in compassion, unknown to them, paid the money. Several times were they and others imprisoned this year, one for fifteen weeks in the winter for being at a meeting. After a month's imprisonment, W. Callow appealing to the Earl of Derby, obtained permission to go to London, where at length he procured a warrant for the discharge of himself and the rest.

They were imprisoned again the succeeding year, together with Evans's father, eighty years of age; and the following year, 1664, every woman\* of this profession was arrested by virtue of an order from the bishop; they being, he said, excommunicated, of which they had not the least intelligence, before he now declared it to them.

The prison allotted them was the same gloomy dungeon in which the men were confined, hither when the apparitor had brought them, he took off his hat, and formally pronounced what he called the bishop's curset.

In

\* These were, the wife of said William Callow, (who being just recovering out of a fever, and unable either to walk or ride, was suffered to stay at home for the present) Jane Christen, Jane Kennell, Anne Christen, Mary Callow and Mary Christen; one of whom was seventy-four, and another sixty-seven years of age, a third a poor serving man's wife, who had three children, the youngest at her breast; the fourth, the wife of one not called a Quaker, had a large family and many children, and the fifth a servant of William Callow, who was forcibly taken from her sick mistress.

† "I do here before the standers-by deliver you up into St-Germain's prison, by the law of my lord the bishop and his clergy,

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 309

In the month called June, 1065. Henry Nowell, deputy-governor, came to the castle, and read to the prisoners an order from the earl, that "they must be forthwith transported to some other land." And near the end of the month two priests came to them, and informed them they were come by the deputy-governor's order, to admonish them to come to church, otherwise they must be banished forthwith.

On the 5th September the commander of the castle received an order to send all the Quakers prisoners to Douglas, which was done on the 7th; and there they were kept under a guard until the 14th, when they were put on board a ship of which Tho<sup>o</sup> Brittain was master; but as the prisoners entered at one side of the ship, the seamen went out at the other into the boat, telling the master they were not hired to carry people out of their native country against their will, and that they would not go with him if he carried them; and went on shore. The master, unable to proceed on his voyage without them, set the prisoners on shore, when the sailors returned, and the ship set sail.

About three days after several vessels came into the road; but all refused to carry the prisoners. The soldiers endeavoured to force them on board the ship of Anthony Nicholson, of Whitehaven; but he strenuously opposed it, insisting that he would carry no prisoners, except they would send a guard of soldiers, and money to maintain both the prisoners and them, and also signify in writing the crime laid to their charge. However, on the 18th, about midnight, W<sup>m</sup>. Callow, Evan Christen, Jane Christen and Mary Callow, were hurried out of their beds with such precipitancy, that they were

clergy, you being cast out of the church by excommunication, and I do take witness that I do deliver you over from the power of the bishop and his law, to be and continue the Earl of Derby's prisoners."

.not



not allowed time to put on their clothes, but obliged to leave some of them behind; two of them were forcibly put on board Nicholson's ship, and the other two on board William Crosthwaite's, against the will of the masters. They sailed to Dublin, where neither the seamen nor prisoners were suffered to land, until Crosthwaite was examined by the mayor, who demanded his warrant for bringing the prisoners without their consent; to which he answered, that he had no warrant, but was compelled to take them on board by one Quail, an officer, who took away his sails, and would not let him put off without the prisoners, and his vessel was in danger of breaking. Upon which the mayor gave him an order. Pursuant to which he carried them back, but either being, or pretending to be, driven from the island by contrary winds, he carried them to Whitehaven, and there put them on shore; but John Lamplugh, a justice of peace, issued his warrant to the constables of Whitehaven to cause them to be put on board Crosthwaite's ship, to be carried back to the isle, as no legal proceedings appeared to authorize him to bring them into that country. On the 12th December, Crosthwaite took them on board again, but instead of carrying them to the island, took them again to Dublin, but was not suffered to land them there until he had given security to convey them to the island on his return. But in violation of his engagement he returned with them to Whitehaven. Being landed again in England, the two men went to the Earl of Derby, and while they were employed in fruitless solicitations to him and the bishop, for liberty to return to their lawful occupations, Crosthwaite carried the two women back to the island, where they were again shut up in prison.

These two men, after long attendance upon the Earl of Derby, were by him referred to the bishop,

to whom (after some time coming to Knowlesly Hall in Lancashire, the said earl's seat) they got admittance, and had a long conference with him and the dean, wherein they endeavoured to move him to compassionate their case, and give an order for their return to their wives and children; but he would by no means admit of their return, and by his influence the earl was also hardened against them.

After their ineffectual conference, these exiles returned into Cumberland; and though they could not obtain permission, the distressed state of their families, from whom they had been forcibly separated, determined them to return; and accordingly they took shipping for the island; but before they could get on shore, the master of the vessel received orders not to suffer them to land; in consequence whereof they were detained on board until the 1st of Sept. when the master sent a petition to the bishop, requesting that they might go on shore until he was ready to return, and then, if required, he would carry them back to England. To which the bishop\* consented.

They continued at home about a month, when they were brought to Ramsey, and forced again from wife and relations. W. Callow's wife taking her leave of him with tears, so affected the master of the ship, that he wept too, endeavouring to comfort the poor woman with promises of kindness to her husband. Soon after they were sent off, an attorney, named Qualtrop, took possession of their estates, by virtue of an order signed by the bishop and others.

Upon their being landed again in England, Wil-

\* "I am content that the Quakers be secured on shore until the return of the vessel, upon security given by the owner of the vessel and the Quakers for their return, upon his departure from the island.

ISAAC SODER and MAN."

liam

liam Callow went into Lancashire, and renewed his application to the earl, for his permission to return home, but with no better success than before : wherefore he went to London, and represented his case to the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, the latter of whom compassionated it so far, as to intercede by letter in his behalf. But even this solicitation proved less effectual with the earl, than the bishop's influence, and for his declining compliance with which he gives the following reason : " There is not now in the island one Quaker or dissenting person of any persuasion from the church of England, and I humbly conceive your highness, for that one man's concern, would not have that place endangered to be infested with schism or heresy, which it might be liable to, if Quakers were permitted to reside there."

While W. Callow was occupied in London in soliciting for liberty to return home, he received intelligence from his wife, that she, his daughter Anne, her sister Jane Christen and Mary Callow had been prisoners in Castle-Peel five or six weeks ; that all their estates, real and personal, were seized ; and that she heard the attorney would shortly come and take away all their goods ; that she and Jane Christen being with child, they had applied by letter to the bishop for leave to return to their houses until the spring, and then return to prison, they not having wherewith to subsist during the winter, nor necessaries for persons in their condition, but that the bishop, deaf to their entreaties, had returned the following severe answer :

" If upon releasement they will put in security to promise to come to the service, and conform to the order of the church, and all such as are excommunicated to acknowledge their schisms, and receive absolution, I shall so far presume upon my Lord's favour, as to grant them liberty ; otherwise I have

no

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 313

no power to meddle with them, they being my Lord's prisoners; and if they miscarry in their health or lives, it is wholly imputable to their disobedience, and they must be accounted their own murderers; and this is all I can say to them.

*Isaac Soder and Mann."*

Upon the receipt of this affecting intelligence, W. Callow determined, if possible, to visit his wife in her distressed condition, and accordingly returned home, where he was not suffered to give her any effectual assistance; for on his arrival, he was sent to prison, by order of the bishop, where he was detained seven days, then put on board a vessel again, and sent to England. He then wrote an account of his hard usage to the Earl of Derby, and waited personally upon him with it; but he dismissed him with this rude answer, "If he would not conform, he should not return to poison his island."

In 1668 those four women were imprisoned again and banished with such circumstances of barbarity as even drew tears from their neighbours, who were commanded to be assistant in taking them. Two soldiers came to W. Callow's house, with an order from the bishop to take his wife to prison, and they said the order from the bishop was peremptory to take her and the others to prison, though they should die by the way. William's wife being very weak in bed, they took her each by an arm, and endeavoured to pull her out of the bed; but her children crying round her, and the neighbours also at the sight of their cruelty, moved them to desist at that time, but they returned the next day and took her, Evan Christen's mother, an ancient woman between seventy and eighty years of age, Jane Christen and Mary Callow, all to Castle-Peel. The next day an order came from the bishop to send them back again to Ramsey, where they were detained several weeks until a vessel was ready to take them away; when

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one Capt. Ascough, in whose custody they were, brought them to the boat with their children weeping after them; these he cruelly separated, not suffering them, though desirous, to take any but the youngest along with them. W. Callow's wife, to her other sufferings, had to leave four children behind her. Jane Christen, in like manner, was forced to leave five. They being forced on board, were landed at Whitehaven. After some stay there, they together with W. Callow, were sent back by order of two Cumberland justices. The day after their arrival at the island they were forcibly taken out of their beds, by order of the deputy-governor, and put on board the ship in such hurry, that the women were obliged to take their children naked in their aprons, crying through the streets, in the night. They were then taken to Dublin, whence a ship was pressed to take them back again by order of the mayor. The passage was tedious by reason of contrary winds, and the women suffered much for want of provisions and necessaries, W. Callow's wife being near the time of her delivery. As soon as the bishop and governor were informed of their arrival, they set a watch upon the vessel to prevent W. Callow's landing, and the women having been landed before, were soon forced again on board by soldiers, with aggravated circumstances of inhumanity. The master of the ship being brought before the governor and the bishop, represented the weak condition of the women, and what they had suffered at sea, and the danger to which they must certainly be exposed by being hurried again on board; but the bishop, unmoved by the representation, sent an order to raise the parish people to put W. Callow's wife on board. The messenger informed him she was very weak, and they did not know but in labour. The bishop, nevertheless, renewed his orders, and the soldiers coming to her bed-side, ordered her

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 213

to go with them, swearing that they had orders from the bishop, if she would not go, to carry her in a cart, or across a horse's back. They took her children out of bed, and scarce giving her time to put on her clothes, hurried her to Ramsey; they rifled her pockets of 4s.; and took away her box of clothes, leaving her neither linen, nor any thing else but what she had on; alledging that they seized her goods by the bishop's warrant. Three of the neighbours who refused to assist, were by the bishop's order committed to prison.

The exiles were detained on board an open boat (half-decked, and that so badly, that when it rained they could not sit dry) which landed them at Peel in Lancashire; upon their landing, two justices made an order to send them back (except Ann Callow, who being in childbed, was left behind). On their arrival at Ramsey they were detained prisoners on ship-board for upwards of three weeks. It seems proper to remark that the magistrates of Dublin and of the British ports where they were landed, appear not to have sent them back in any ill-will to them; but rather in testimony of abhorrence of the bishop's proceedings.

Finding that both from England and Ireland the banished were continually sent back with a censure of the illegality of their proceedings, they determined to transport W. Callow to Virginia by a London ship then at anchor in Ramsey bay. When he was put on board, the sailors refused to go the voyage, if he was carried with them, saying, they never heard of a ship which carried Quakers against their will that ever prospered. Whereupon the master; (Ralph Harwood) promised them, that he would carry them no farther than Ireland, and accordingly the next day set them on shore about 40 miles north of Dublin. William went directly to Dublin, took shipping, and landed at Whitehaven;

also about the same time Evan Christen, his aged mother, and Alice Coward, arrived in England from the isle of Whitehorn in Scotland, whither they had been carried in an open fishing boat, after long confinement on board the vessel which brought them back out of Lancashire.

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## CHAP. IX.

MEETING-HOUSES IN LONDON SHUT UP.—TRIAL OF WILLIAM PENN AND WILLIAM MEAD FOR A RIOT.—ACQUITTED BY THE JURY.—THE JURY FINED AND IMPRISONED, &c. &c.

**T**HE former act against conventicles, upon which so many were condemned to banishment, being expired, in the next session, in 1670, the parliament proceeded to make a third act against them; but having found imprisonment and even banishment ineffectual to deter the Quakers from keeping up their meetings for worship, they seemed resolved to try the force of depredation and impoverishing them in their estates.

The execution of this act exposed every body of dissenters to great hardship; but fell with the greatest weight upon the Quakers.

At London, and in several other places, many were spoiled of their property; people of considerable substance reduced to extreme poverty, shop and household goods so thoroughly swept away by the hard-hearted spoilers, that the sick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themselves laid upon the floor.

Upon the passing of this law, many justices, who were

were too honest to be instruments of such severities, quitted the bench. And the informers, in general, were men of vile character. Such justices as remained active, and their assistants, were not only prompt to plunder, but dexterous in dividing the spoil.

These unprincipled informers being prosecuted by some Friends and other dissenters, divers of whom upon trial were found guilty of perjury, and suffered for it; others by the partiality and protection of the magistrates, though proved guilty, escaped the punishment due to their crime\*.

\* In Buckinghamshire, two noted informers, Lacy and Aris, swore before Justice Clayton, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were at a meeting at Jordan's the 21st of August, 1670, whereupon the justice fined him 30l. for himself, his wife, and a pretended preacher; and issued a warrant for distress. Thomas and his wife were then both at London, wherefore he appealed to the quarter sessions. The justice, to screen the informers, telling Thomas he suffered justly, and he in his own defence answering "that the righteous were oppressed, and the wicked went unpunished," pretended to interpret these words, "as a reflection on the government," and for refusing sureties for his appearance at the next sessions, committed him to Aylesbury jail. This was done to prevent him from prosecuting his appeal; but some of his friends, especially Thomas Ellwood, prosecuted it, and at the next sessions produced incontrovertible evidence that T. Zachary and his wife were in London all that day; so that notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary, the jury found for the appellants; the conviction was set aside, and the money deposited at entering the appeal ought to have been returned, but they could never get more than 10l. of it, the rest being detained by the clerk of the peace. But so angry was the convicting justice, that he persuaded the rest to tender T. Zachary the oath of allegiance, for refusal whereof he was kept in prison a long time after.

In Spersethire the informers swore against six persons for being at a meeting at Yeovil, where they had not been at all. Others swore Thomas Gully was at a meeting at Gregory-stoke in said county, when he was sick in bed, and died soon after. They swore against William Lea the younger, as being at a meeting five weeks after his death.



Nor were they more scrupulous in proportioning the distrains to the value of the fines imposed : they did not hesitate to take much more in value than the amount of the fines, while they could find any thing to take, encouraged by the instructions and assistance of justices, who frequently gave them directions " to be sure to take enough," they often sold the distresses for less than half value, and would then come for more\*.

Severe as this act was, yet the perjury of the informers, and prejudice of sundry justices against this people, frequently urged them to acts of severity beyond the letter of the law ; which excited some of the sufferers to appeal to the quarter sessions, as allowed them by the act ; but in a general way they got little by the appeal but additional loss ; the influence of the convicting justice, the partiality of the bench, and juries, or the neglect of the justices in putting their decrees into due execution, where in favour of the appellant, mostly left them undressed ; or suffering under additional grievances.

This people were often informed against and illegally fined by a misconstruction of the word *Conventicles*, which though limited in the act to meetings for worship contrary to the liturgy of the church of England ; yet by mercenary informers, and partial justices was extended to comprize all assemblies of any of those people ; if they met merely to provide for their poor, the number of whom daily increased by the severity of this act, and the severer execution thereof ; or if they paid a visit to a friend in sickness ; or if they gathered to pay the last office of respect, in attending the funerals of their deceased friends, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to swear such meetings

\* See Basse's Sufferings of the Quakers, for many cases of oppression and cruelty under this act.

*Conventicles,*

*Conventicles*, nor justices prejudiced against them to issue warrants to levy fines accordingly. And it is to be observed that where the fines imposed did not exceed 10s. there lay no appeal, although judgment were ever so partial, or the distresses ever so exorbitant.

In London, the lord mayor, sitting in a court of aldermen, an informer made his appearance, with such a number of informations as would have wronged the parties informed against of 1500l. but the mayor, in abhorrence, adjourned the court. Yet this informer, not satisfied to let the matter fall, appeared before the court again and again, and was as often put off, till at last he was arrested for debt, and ended his days in prison.

George Fox being in London, published remarks upon the injustice of this law: but at the same time being apprehensive of an impending storm, he wrote an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to steadfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.

Upon the commencement of this act's taking place, in London and several other places, the meeting-houses were shut up, and a guard placed at the door, and amongst the rest at the meeting-house at Gracechurch-street, whereupon the meeting was held in the court. On the next first-day, being kept not only out of the meeting-house, but also out of the court, they assembled in the open street, where G. Fox began to preach, but was presently pulled down: after him another was served in like manner, and both of them were carried before the lord mayor by a constable and informer, attended by a guard of soldiers. As they were passing along, the informer discovered himself by the following expression: "It will never be a good world, until all the people come to the good old religion,"

religion, that was two hundred years ago:" Upon hearing which George said, "What! a papist informer." When they came to the court before the mayor's house, some of the people asked G. Fox why he was brought thither? He replied, "Ask that informer, and ask him his name." Upon this one of the mayor's officers said, "he should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor will know by what authority you intrude yourself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belong to the civil magistrate to execute." The informer, unwilling to abide the examination, slipped out of court, and was received by the populace with a cry of, "a papist informer! a papist informer!" who were like to have handled him roughly, had not G. Fox persuaded the constable and soldiers to rescue him out of their hands. By which means he got into a house, changed his periwig, and made his escape. The mayor, after some discourse with G. Fox and his friend, set them both at liberty. In like manner on the same day, at Devonshire-house, many friends were by compulsion kept out of their meeting-house. But J. Burnyeat and others having assembled in the street, he began to speak, but was quickly pulled down, and carried before the mayor, who fined him 20*l.* At Westminster several were grievously abused, some having their clothes taken from them, some kept prisoners several hours, and afterward taken before two justices, who fined both men and women.

Various were the measures adopted by the magistrates to perplex the Quakers, and deter them from keeping up their religious meetings. On the 26th of the month called June, the mayor suffered them to assemble in the meeting-house in Whitehart Court; but when assembled, he contrived to procure an episcopalian priest to go thither and officiate according to their liturgy, and sent a band of soldiers

soldiers to guard him in the performance of his office, who accordingly read the common prayer, and preached a sermon in the gallery, exciting to love and forbearance, from Eph. c. iv. v. 2, 15; but at the same time by his conduct did not confirm his doctrine; for the soldiers who guarded him were rude and abusive to some, for making observations on the inconsistency of the measures of the church party with his doctrine, and he neither repressed nor rebuked their rudeness, which they dealt freely to women as well as men.

As the novelty of the transaction drew many people together, after the priest had ended his sermon, G. Whitehead stood up, and preached on the same subject, taking occasion therefrom to demonstrate the inconsistency of persecution therewith, and with the gospel of peace. The mixed auditory listened with attention, and the meeting continued in an agreeable state of quietude, until two rude fellows with soldiers at their heels, laid hands on him, pulled him down, and carried him to the mayor's, keeping him some time in his yard. His name and the information against him being given to the mayor, he presently sent out a warrant to commit him to the compter at the gatehouse in Bishopsgate-street, for making a disturbance, &c. until he should find sureties or be delivered by due course of law, without examining the case, or admitting him to be heard in his own defence.

G. Whitehead seeing the warrant, requested an audience of the mayor, which being obtained, he informed him, that he apprehended there was a mistake in the warrant, in charging him with making disturbance, for that there was no such thing, until the informers and soldiers came in; that he made none, but on the contrary quieted the people by seasonable advice. He was sent to the compter until the evening, and then sent for to appear before the

mayor again; who, after some discourse, signified he must fine him 40l. for a second offence, as having been, he said, convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon before; but it seems the fine was never levied.

They pursued the like plan at the same meeting-house for three or four first-days successively: (but whatever their view might be in this intrusion of the liturgy within unconsecrated walls) they soon grew tired, and returned to the practice of placing guards at the meeting-houses, and keeping the assemblies of this people out in the streets.

Upon the 17th day of the 5th month, O. S. (then July) Friends were kept out of their meeting-house at Peele in the street, by a band of soldiers and a constable, and two women Friends being concerned to speak a few words of exhortation, the soldiers came and violently pulled them away, pushed down both men and women with their muskets, and bruised several. Towards the conclusion of the meeting, whilst G. Whitehead was exercised in prayer, the soldiers pulled him away into the entry; George then reasoned with them; remarking how much below the manly spirit of soldiers they acted in abusing peaceable men, and women, as they had done. Presently after they pulled John Scott and Sam. Richardson into their guard-room, and after three hours, conducted them to an alehouse near Clerkenwell, where two justices, Foster and Bowles, were. The information against G. Whitehead imported, That there were about 300 in the street, that they took him preaching, standing on a bulk or stall.

The information against J. Scott was, that they took him preaching, which was, that when they were behaving with rudeness and violence he desired them to "be moderate." Against S. Richardson, that he laid violent hands on one of their muskets; but this was denied by S. Richardson, for he was standing peaceably (as he said) with his hands

in

in his pockets. They were all committed to New-prison, guarded by a constable, and soldiers: the next evening they fined G. Whitehead 20l. (but it was not levied) and S. Richardson five shillings, and discharged them. But imprisoned J. Scott six months on the Oxford act against Nonconformist preachers, although he was no preacher, nor in any respect justly liable to be punished by the said act.

The magistrates of London next conceived a new plan, to imprison them, in order to bring them to trial for a riot, and exert their endeavours to get them convicted thereupon. They began with two eminent members of this society, W. Penn and W. Mead, who were taken as W. Penn was preaching in Gracechurch-street, on the 14th of the month called August, and both committed to Newgate, from whence they were brought to their trial at the sessions at the Old Bailey the 1st, 9d, 4th and 5th of Sept. wherein is exhibited a specimen of the violent exertions of arbitrary power in the magistrates; and of intrepid fortitude in defence of the privileges of the people, in the prisoners and the jury.

The indictment set forth, that W. Penn and W. Mead, with divers other persons to the number of 300, at Gracechurch-street in London, on the 15th of August, with force and arms tumultuously assembled together, and that W. Penn, by agreement between him and W. Mead, had preached there in the public street, whereby was caused a great concourse of people. To this indictment they severally pleaded, "Not guilty." After which they were detained there five hours, waiting upon the trial of felons, and then returned to Newgate; and two days after were brought before the court again, when the court more openly manifested a preconcerted design to take every unfair advantage against them; for coming into court with their hats on, and the officers hav-

ing taken them off, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, reproved them sharply, and ordered them to put them on their heads again. Whereupon the recorder, Howel, fined them forty marks each, for not taking off their hats; which occasioned W. Penn to remark, that they were in the court with their hats off, (i. e. taken off) and if they have been put on since, it is by order of the bench: and therefore, (if any), the bench, not the prisoners, ought to be fined.

The jury being sworn, and the witnesses called, deposed that they saw W. Penn speaking to the people assembled in a great number in Gracechurch-street, but they could not hear what he said.

The recorder then asked W. Mead if he was there? Who replied, It is a maxim in law that no man is bound to accuse himself, why then dost thou go about to ensnare me? The recorder, in resentment, returned, Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to ensnare you. Then W. Penn freely declared, we confess ourselves so far from declining to vindicate our assembling ourselves to preach, pray, or worship, that we believe it to be our duty. Richard Brown alledged, You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law; you do yourselves wrong in going on in that discourse. To this W. Penn answered, I affirm I have broken no law; nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end the bench, the jury, and myself, with these that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire to know by what law you prosecute, and upon which you ground my indictment? The recorder answered, Upon the common law. W. Penn desired that common law might be produced. The recorder, provoked at his persistence in demanding a specification of the law, which he could not tell where to find, suffered his passion to transport him beyond

Beyond the bounds of decency, and treated a man on every account as respectable as himself with ill language, in this laconic reply to his just requisition: You are a saucy fellow, speak to the indictment! But *W. Penn* insisting on his right to have the law produced on which the indictment was founded; and the court evading it, and insisting on his pleading to the indictment as it stood: at last the recorder, losing all patience, to abusive language added a plain confession that he did not know where the law was to be found. You are, said he, an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is? It's *Lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment? *W. Penn*. If the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being common; but if Lord Coke in his Institutes be of any authority, he tells us, that common law is common right, and that common right is the great charter privileges. *Recorder*. You are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to suffer you to go on. *W. Penn*. I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your arbitrary designs. This exasperated the recorder to that degree, that he called to the officers to take him away. And addressing himself to the mayor, said, my lord, if you do not take some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night. Upon which the mayor ordered him to be haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going away, he made the following address to the jury: This I leave upon your consciences, who are my jury, and my sole judges, that

if



if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then; our liberties are to be openly invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeitures for conscience-sake.

W. Mead, being left alone at the bar, also addressed the jury in the following speech: "Ye men, of the jury, I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am accused that I met with force and arms unlawfully and tumultuously. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man; nor do I know that I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. Therefore it is a very proper question that W. Penn demanded, an oyer of the law on which our indictment is grounded. If the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, &c. Coke tells us, a riot is, when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut his grass, his wood, or break down his pales." The recorder, pulling off his hat in a contemptuous manner, said, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the law is. W. Mead replied, Thou mayst put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now. The lord mayor saying, you deserve to have your tongue cut out; and the recorder threatening to take occasion against him, he pleading his privilege as an Englishman, the recorder rejoined, I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws

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laws of England, nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have. Then he was likewise ordered into the bail-dock.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder proceeded to give the jury their charge; which W. Penn observing, remonstrated against as an irregular proceeding, raising himself up by the rails of the bail-dock, that he might be heard, with a loud voice spoke thus: "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners." The recorder answered sneeringly, ye are present, ye do hear, do you not? *W. Penn.* No thanks to the court that ordered me into the bail-dock: and you of the jury take notice that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment. This speech being very unpalatable to the court, the recorder cried out, Pull that fellow down, pull him down. *W. Mead* thereupon exclaimed against their proceedings as barbarous and unjust; upon which, by order of the recorder, they were thrust into a stinking hole and detained there, while the jury went up to agree upon their verdict; and after staying about an hour and an half, eight came down agreed; but four being dissatisfied remained above. The bench, provoked at these jurymen, who obstructed their designs, threatened them with the like domineering incivility as they had the prisoners before, particularly *Edw. Bushel*, whom they charged with being the cause of this disagreement, and an abettor of faction. After much abusive treatment, they sent them to consider of bringing in their verdict, which after some time they agreed to bring *W. Penn* guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street.

This

This the court refused to accept as a verdict: And strove unfairly to extort expressions from some of them, to procure a verdict more to their purpose, as that he was speaking to an unlawful assembly; but Bushel, Hammond, and some others refused to admit any alteration in their verdict; at which the recorder, mayor, and others took occasion to abuse them, and forced them up again to bring in a verdict they would accept. Upon their return they produced their verdict in writing, signed by them all, finding W. Penn guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly met together in Gracechurch street, the 14th of August, 1670, and that W. Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

This the mayor and recorder resented so highly, that they exceeded the bounds of moderation, which drew the following remonstrance from W. Penn.

“My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free, and not compelled. The bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestal them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury’s verdict.” This poignant vindication of his right exasperated the recorder to the following illiberal exclamation: “Stop that prating fellow’s mouth, or put him out of the court.” And the mayor telling the jury, “That he had gathered a company of tumultuous people.” W. Penn, in explanation, replied, It is a mistake, we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us; the jury cannot be so ignorant as to think that we met with any design to disturb the civil peace. We were with force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give us leave. It is no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual with us: ’Tis very well known that

that we are a "peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man." He insisted that the agreement of twelve men is a verdict; required the clerk of the peace to record it; and addressing himself to the jury, said, "You are Englishmen, mind your privileges; give not away your right." To which some of them replied, "Nor will we ever do it."

The prisoners were now sent back to jail, and the jury to their chamber, where they were shut up all night without victuals, fire, or any accommodation, the recorder declaring he would have a verdict, or they should starve for it.

The next morning they brought in the same verdict; and neither the passionate resentments, the opprobrious reflections, nor the repeated menaces of the bench, could prevail upon them to alter it. The recorder's passion got the better of his prudence so far as to extort sentiments, which policy would conceal. "Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." You will find next sessions of parliament there will be a law made, that those who will not conform shall not have the protection of the law: The jury, after repeated menaces, were forced up again, and spent a second night without accommodation as before; no regard being paid to their remonstrances, that they had all agreed, and in confirmation thereof had set their hands to the verdict. Next morning the prisoners being brought to the bar, and the jury called upon to bring in their verdict, returned both the prisoners "not guilty;" for which they were fined forty marks a man, and ordered to be imprisoned till the fines were paid; but some time after were discharged by *habeas corpus* returnable  
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in the Common-pleas, where their commitment, was judged illegal. The prisoners, upon being cleared by the jury, demanded their liberty; but they were remanded to prison for their fines for not taking off their hats, to which they excepted, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great Charter, which saith, "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." Thus ended this memorable trial, wherein a noble stand was made against the illegal proceedings of despotic magistrates in dangerous times, when reason, law, and equity, were equally disregarded.

At the same sessions thirteen more of this people having been sent to prison, partly from Gracechurch Street, and partly from the meeting near Bishopsgate, (amongst whom was Thomas Rudyard, a man skilled in the law, and a strenuous vindicator of the liberties of the people,) were brought to trial upon like indictments, for meeting in a riotous manner. The same jury, who acquitted Penn and Mead, had been also sworn in court to try these other Quakers; but were incapacitated by that extraordinary proceeding of the court in fining and imprisoning them.

Their treatment was as overbearing from the recorder and the rest, as that of Penn and Mead had been: they were used just in the same manner, and fined for not taking off their hats, which had been taken off by the officers, and put on their heads again by order of the court. A second jury was packed to try them, against which they protested, desiring to be informed by what law or precedent two juries could be sworn to try one and the same fact? received for answer, "The court overrules you." They yet urging that the law ought to be the rule of courts of justice, and that arbitrary answers were not sufficient to satisfy their reasonable demands,

demands, the recorder, greatly enraged, told one of the prisoners he should be gagged, and deserved to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. They objected to several of this second jury; but their lawful challenges were rejected by the bench, for no better reason than that "the court over-ruled them\*."

Ezekiel Archer and Margery Fann, who having been indicted as rioters the sessions before, and the evidence being insufficient to convict them, were detained in prison on an indictment for felony; but this attempt against them was so manifestly unjust, that even this jury brought them in "not guilty;" and yet Archer was fined and imprisoned with the rest.

At the close of the sessions these prisoners were called down to the sessions house, as they expected, to receive judgment, and had accordingly prepared exceptions in arrest of judgment; but they were precluded from the opportunity of making their defence; the bench passing sentence without any of them hearing it.

It appeared by the Newgate book that this clandestine sentence condemned them in sundry fines, some forty marks, some twenty; and as a special mark of their "vindictive disposition" towards Thomas Rudyard, he was fined 100*l.* and all to be committed to prison, until they should pay their respective fines.

Newgate was so full that there could not be convenient room for this additional number; the court ordered these Friends to be imprisoned in a spunging

\* An account of both these trials was published soon after, the first by William Penn, under the title of "The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted." To which is added, an appendix, exhibiting at large the invalidity of the evidence, &c. See Penn's Works.

house

house\* adjoining to Newgate; and a keeper was appointed to prevent their going out on any occasion.

When or by what means they were released, I find no particular account; but William Penn's imprisonment at this time was of no long continuance; for it appears he was at liberty at the time of his father's decease, which happened the 16th of the same month; viz. September, 1670. His father was at this time perfectly reconciled to him, and left him both his paternal blessing, and a plentiful estate; and seems to have conceived a favourable opinion of Friends, as appears by his death-bed expressions, recorded in "No Cross no Crown."

Having traced the arbitrary proceedings of this session, and the consequent transactions thus far, we are to view measures still more violent.

At Horslydown, in the borough of Southwark, from the very beginning of the persecution under this last act, the members of this meeting were not only prosecuted in heavy fines and distrainments, but personally abused by soldiers, who were appointed to keep them out of their meeting-house: and the repeated abuses they received not deterring them from keeping up their religious meetings, in the month called July, an order was issued by the King and Council for demolishing the said meeting-house.

The execution of this order was not committed to the civil power, but put into the hands of the military. The troopers came twice to the meeting there, after the affixing up of the order to disperse the assembly. A sergeant plucked them out of the meeting-house, and when forced out, the troopers

\* The master of that house, and a prisoner there, had lately died of the spotted fever: this circumstance the court was apprized of; but all the prisoners were preserved in health.

rode amongst them to disperse them, and wounded several of them. The third time, on the 20th of August, so called, being the seventh day of the week, a party of soldiers with carpenters and others came and pulled down the meeting-house, carried away the boards, windows, and benches, and sold them. On the next day the Friends came as usual, and met upon the rubbish, but the soldiers came and dragged them into the street. On the 28th a captain ordered his soldiers to knock their brains out; they pulled and haled them from the place, and having kept them until near sunset, carried them to the Marshalsea prison, and lodged them there without any warrant from a civil magistrate.

The dragooning of this meeting was continued weekly for the greatest part of three months, with increasing aggravation; the foot soldiers beat and abused both men and women with their muskets and pikes. After the foot had perpetrated their abuse, a party of horse came on furiously, and endeavoured to ride over them; but the horses (less savage than their riders) being unwilling to go forward, they turned them about, and endeavoured to force them backward, and in that manner do what mischief they could.

Finding this people, though thus abused, not deterred from keeping up their religious assemblies, these military executors of illegal punishment changed their method of attack; one of them having provided himself with a shovel, threw the dirt out of the channels upon men and women promiscuously, in a shameful manner; after him advanced horse and foot in a furious onset upon a harmless unresisting body of people, striking and knocking down all before them, without regard to age or sex, to the shedding of the blood of many. When some of the inhabitants in compassion took them into their houses to save their lives, the soldiers forced open



open the doors, haled them out into the streets, and plucked off their hats, to strike on their bare heads, whereby many went away with heads grievously broken; they tore both men and women's clothes off their backs, dragged them through the mire by the horses sides, and used modest women with brutish indecency of action and expression. One woman with child was struck on the belly and breast, in consequence whereof she miscarried. A man Friend was dragged, after being severely beaten, into the ruins of the meeting-house by one of those cruel men, who demanded his money, and endeavoured to rifle his pockets; threatening with execrations, that he would stab and pistol him, if he would not deliver it.

At one of these assaults above twenty persons were wounded; at the succeeding one upwards of thirty; and at this last the number of wounded and bruised exceeded fifty. At length these violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the armed men let loose upon them. The succeeding first day, the 16th of October, being again met, and kept out of their meeting-place, there came again a party of horse and foot, prepared to fall upon them; but a party of constables being there before them, to preserve the peace, kept them at bay for a short time; but they quickly broke over the barriers of civil restraint, and fell upon the defenceless people with their accustomed inhumanity. Many of them had their blood spilled plentifully about their ears and faces, and one of the constables interposing in endeavours to prevent the shedding of blood, and to keep the peace, was a sharer with them in this indiscriminate abuse. Being reprehended for their cruelty, some of them answered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you."

A nar-

A narrative of the proceedings of the soldiers towards this people was presented to the King and Council, which produced the cessation of these cruelties for a season, though they were not altogether discontinued.

There was another meeting-house belonging to this society at Ratcliff, which soon after was subjected to the like violence with that of Horslydown: Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, without any legal process or lawful cause, on the 2d of September, came thither attended by Captain Taylor, and a party of soldiers belonging to the King's regiment, and caused the meeting-house to be pulled down. That day and the night following twelve cartloads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink.

When their meeting-house was pulled down, Friends of Ratcliff met on the ruins, or as near them as they would be permitted, being generally kept off by constables or other officers, who mostly either took some of them prisoners, or by information procured them to be fined on the conventicle act.

Robinson intended to have proceeded next to pull down the meeting-house at Wheeler Street; but Gilbert Latey, in whom the title was vested, and who was then in the west of England, upon intelligence thereof, returned to London, ordered a poor Friend to be put into the meeting-house, and made a lease to him.

After this, Friends taking the same care, have generally preserved their meeting-houses.

William Penn, during the short interval of liberty he enjoyed this winter, published a book, he intitled, "A seasonable Caveat against Popery," wherein he exposes and confutes many erroneous doctrines  
of

of the church of Rome, and established the opposite truths by sound arguments: a work alone sufficient on one hand to wipe off the calumny cast upon him of being a favourer of the Romish religion; and on the other to manifest that his principle for liberty of conscience was universal, as he wished it to be extended even to the papists, under the security of their not persecuting others.

But he was not suffered to enjoy his liberty long; Sir John Robinson, having succeeded Brown as lord mayor, who had all along shewn an equal aversion to dissenters, and Quakers particularly, was one of the bench of justices on the trial of Penn, Mead, and the rest at the Old Bailey. This man, actuated by personal pique against William Penn, had been some time watching the meetings to take him, and at last, on the 5th of the 12th month, (February,) having information of his being to be at Wheeler Street, sent a serjeant and soldiers, who planted themselves at the door, and waited there until he stood up and preached; and then the serjeant pulled him down and led him into the street, where a constable and assistants standing ready to join, they carried him away to the Tower; a guard was there clapt upon him, and a messenger dispatched to the lieutenant, then at Whitehall, to inform him of the success. After keeping him upon guard near three hours, he came home, and sent for William Penn from the guard, by an officer with a file of musketeers. There were several other magistrates of the same cast present; namely, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Sheldon, Lieutenant Colonel Rycraft, and others. Orders being given that no person unconcerned in the business should be admitted up, they proceeded to the examination, and committed him to Newgate for six months, upon an act which had no relation to him, but fixed on as inflicting the severest punishment; the remembrance of the trial

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at the Old Bailey, and the publication of their arbitrary exertion of power against law, operating more powerfully on his passions to avenge himself of him, than the remembrance of his father's friendship, (who had been very kind to Robinson,) to requite it with acts of kindness to the son. Upon Robinson's signifying he must send him to Newgate for six months, and when they are expired, that then he might come out, William Penn replied, "Is that all? thou well knowest a larger imprisonment hath not daunted me: I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Thy religion *persecutes*, and mine *forgives*: I desire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation."

In prison, he employed the time of his confinement in writing, "The great Cause of Liberty of Conscience briefly debated and defended," with several other occasional pieces.

After some time the heat of this persecution abated in the city; but in some other parts it was carried on with unrelaxed violence, which occasioned George Fox to leave the city, and visit his persecuted friends in the country, to comfort them in their sufferings, and encourage them to steadfastness in their religious duties.

In this journey he fell ill of a distemper which deprived him of sight and hearing, and seemed to threaten his dissolution; but after some time he recovered gradually; and though persecution was so hot in divers places, and in some there was much threatening, with attempts to break up the meetings, yet he escaped unmolested, and having finished his service, returned to London; and though still weak in body, he was diligently exercised in his ministerial labours.

Having soon after his marriage received information of his wife's being imprisoned, (as before-noticed,) he incited her daughters, who were in London, to apply to the King: they were so successful, as to procure his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge, which he hoped would be obeyed. But upon this fresh storm of persecution breaking out, her enemies (he understood) had found means to detain her still in prison: wherefore he renewed his endeavours for her release, and by the assistance of others, obtained from the King a discharge under the great seal, to clear both herself and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner, under an unjust sentence of premunire. This mandate he sent down immediately, whereby her liberty was obtained.

The heat of persecution beginning to cool, he felt a draught of duty inclining him to pay a religious visit to Friends in America; and apprizing his wife by letter of his intention, desired her to come up to London, which she did accordingly: and having taken leave of her, he set sail the latter part of the summer for America, in company with several other Friends, and after a passage of some thing more than seven weeks, landed at Barbadoes.

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